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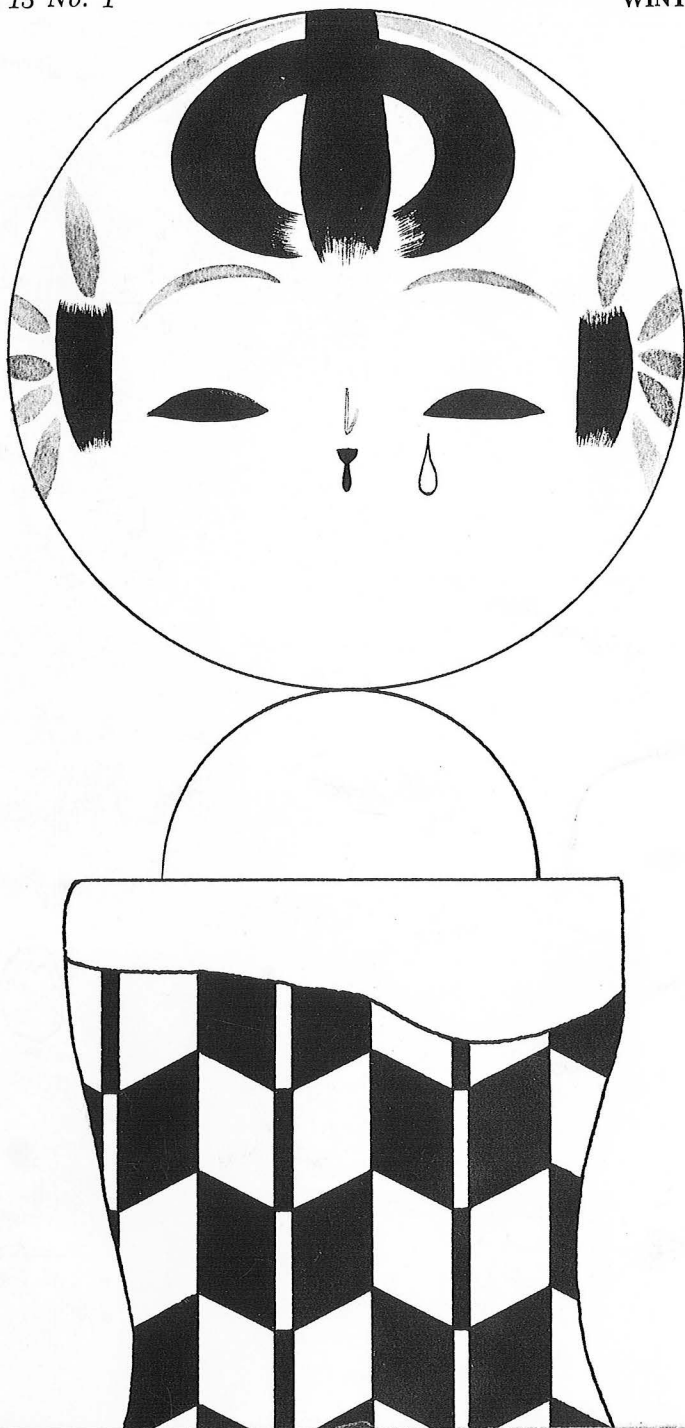
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THE
PACIFIC HISTORIAN

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"Many of our leaders are young; our spirit is young." Dennis Warren, a University of the Pacific Junior who is the Student Chairman of Let Us Vote, is pictured here with Eddie Le Baron, Mrs. Elizabeth Koontz, President of the National Association of Education, and television personality Joey Bishop.

FROM PROPHECY TO REALITY

Alexander the Great once had a right hand man named Antipiter. On one of his great expeditions, he succeeded in surrounding a Grecian city. Antipiter sent a messenger to talk to the city fathers, and he said, "Before we talk over terms; send us twenty hostages." The messenger returned with this reply, "We will send you twenty of our men, but not one of our youth." I have an idea that deep down in the hearts of Californians is a regard for our youth no less than was held by those Grecian people for theirs. In education, too, it is a matter both of rolling up our sleeves and using our imaginations to work out this great problem of our commonwealth.

It seems to me that California can face up to its problems. Many of our leaders are young; our spirit is young. The dead hand of the past does not weigh heavily upon us. Our innovations cause the whole world to sit up and take notice. I believe we can measure up. I have faith in the fact that we *are* going to measure up. And I have faith that the same spirit which was manifest in California a hundred years ago will come forth to lead us ahead in the spirit of the covered wagon, rather than the spirit of the bandwagon.

From: **California in 1975**, a speech delivered by Dr. Robert E. Burns, President of the College of the Pacific for the Commonwealth Club of California in San Francisco, September 3, 1954.

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California and the "North American Road to India"

by RICHARD W. VAN ALSTYNE

On May 21, 1968 the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway published in the *Stockton Record* (and doubtless many other papers) a full page advertisement that was both original and imaginative. The advertisement pictured the United States as a *land bridge* between the Orient and Western Europe, and described how transcontinental rail service, when coordinated with ship arrivals and departures at East and West Coast ports respectively, could substantially reduce transit time between the Orient and Europe over all-water service via the Panama Canal or the Cape of Good Hope.

Two hundred years of history lie behind this advertisement. In effect Santa Fe's management has revived the nineteenth century idea of "the North American road to India," and the advertisement stands by itself as an historical document of prime importance.

The idea began to take form in the wake of the voyages of Captain James Cook, R. N. All three of Cook's voyages were epoch-making: many mariners had roamed the Pacific during the two and a half centuries since Magellan, but none equalled the achievements of this Yorkshireman. Cook sailed from England on his third and final voyage in July 1776, barely a week after the signing of the American Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia. This third voyage was especially significant because Cook charted the northwest passage across the top of the continent from the direction of the Bering Sea. As Corporal John Ledyard, a Connecticut Yankee who shipped with Cook, pointed out, other attempts to locate the passage had been made from the Atlantic side of the continent, but Cook was the first to try it from the Pacific. When at Unalaska, Ledyard, under orders from Cook took a small exploring party and brought back three Russian seamen, "well-behaved, intelligent men, and very ready to give me all the information I could desire."¹ Corporal Ledyard finished his tour of duty with

1 A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean . . . in 4 vols. (London: for John Stockdale et al., 1784), vol. 2, pp. 494 and 504.

the British expedition and at the end of the Revolutionary War returned to his home town, Hartford, where in 1783 a local printer published the journal he had kept while on the voyage.

Of course, however, Cook's exploits were already famous. Both French and American warships were under orders, should they encounter him, to pay him all honor and respect and in no circumstances to treat him as an enemy. In Paris negotiating peace, John Adams absorbed the geographical knowledge the expedition had made available. Near Kamchatka, he observed, the passage between America and Asia was no wider than between Calais and Dover. "What should hinder the Empress of Russia," Adams wondered, "from establishing a trading city on the Sea of Kamchatka, and opening a commerce with Pekin, Nankin, and Canton, the cities of China? It is so near the islands of Japan, the Philippines, the Moluccas, that a great scene may one day be opened there."² Not improbably Adams had read a book which William Coxe, an English traveler in Russia, had first published in 1780, pointing out the importance of the Russian advance across Siberia. Coxe printed a number of fine maps and charts in his volume, and showed that Cook had verified the discoveries which Bering and Chirikov, the Russian explorers, had previously reported.

Soon it was common knowledge that trading in furs, especially sea otter pelts, to the Chinese opened the door to unlimited wealth. Lieutenant John Meares, a later British explorer, describes sea otter fur as:

the finest in the world; it possesses a jetty blackness, and is of exceeding beauty. The peculiar warmth it affords renders it a most valuable clothing in the colder climates; but considered in an ornamental view, it has a rich and magnificent appearance and, under a certain arrangement, may vie even with the royal ermine.³

Meanwhile, visiting Jefferson in Paris in February 1786, John Ledyard made the latter a startling proposition. Ledyard volunteered to *walk* across Russia and Siberia, find his way down the coast of North America and thence eastward to the United States. Harboring an almost morbid fear lest the British or the French get the start of the Americans in this new trade, Jefferson snatched

2 The Adams Papers, Diary of John Adams, vol. III (1782-1804), Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), entries for Feb. 25 and June 16, 1783.

3 John Meares, *Voyages made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the N. W. Coast of America . . .* (2 vols., London: J. Walter, 1791), vol. 1, p. 353.

at the offer. Ledyard impressed him. The young man "has genius, an education better than the common, and a talent for useful and interesting observation. I believe him to be an honest man, and a man of truth. To all this he adds just as much singularity of character, and of that particular kind too, as was necessary to make him undertake the journey he proposes."⁴

Ledyard actually did walk across Siberia, the German seaport of Hamburg being his starting point. But when within only a few days from Kamchatka, he suffered arrest at the hands of the Russians who brought him back and turned him loose at the Polish border. What a story he might have left, if only he had committed himself to pen and paper! But he was a lone wolf, and we have only Jefferson's scanty allusions to him on which to build.

Ledyard's exploit was repeated successfully three quarters of a century later by Perry McDonough Collins, an American businessman seeking relations with Russia. But Collins traveled in style, by coach from St. Petersburg to the headwaters of the Amur and then by boat to the river's mouth, and he enjoyed the friendship of Count Muraviev, the new governor of Eastern Siberia. Back in the United States while the Civil War was at its height, Collins published a full account of his travels, arguing that the Amur was like the Mississippi — a great waterway into the interior. His friendship with Muraviev spurred Collins to work for an agreement with Russia aimed at capturing the trade of China and dividing it between them.

The phrase "North American road to India" (i.e., China) comes from Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri and his daughter Jessie; but the idea was in Jefferson's mind, and it became a fixture in the American mental makeup. Benton envisaged St. Louis as "the Venice of the New World," receiving the goods of the Orient transported by wagon from the Pacific Coast and serving as the distributing center for the United States and Western Europe. Through speeches in Congress and through editorials in the St. Louis newspapers he pushed the idea; and he drew on the knowledge of ancient Rome that he had acquired from Gibbon to show how the rising American empire could be strengthened by a network of roads extending from its hub in St. Louis to the outlying provinces on the Pacific Coast. In a speech delivered in the Senate in February 1849 he made his point most graphically:

The trade of the Pacific Ocean, of the western coast of North America, and of Eastern Asia, will all take its track; and not only for ourselves, but

4 The Jefferson Papers, vol. IX, p. 273.

for posterity. That trade of India, which has been shifting its channels from the time of the Phoenicians to the present is destined to shift once more, and to realize the grand idea of Columbus. The American road to India will also become the European track to that region. The European merchant, as well as the American, will fly across our continent on a straight line to China. . . . And where has that commerce ever flowed without carrying wealth dominion with it? Look at . . . the cities which it raised into kingdoms . . . Tyre, Sidon, . . . Alexandria . . . Constantinople, in the middle ages and in the time of the crusades, was the wonder of Western Europe; and all, because she was then a thoroughfare of Asiatic commerce. Genoa and Venice . . . Lisbon had her day. . . . And London, what makes her the commercial mistress of the world . . . ?⁵

Benton's argument seems the more convincing when we correlate it with the activities of the Navy in the Pacific and with the aggressive interest of Eastern merchants in getting control of California and linking it up with Honolulu, which was already an entrepôt to the American China trade. Foremost of the three expeditions dispatched by the Navy, but poorly remembered and virtually ignored by historians, was the United States Exploring Expedition of 1838-1841 under the command of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes. Wilkes told the story of his voyage in five ponderous volumes, published in 1845, the year of the Oregon crisis and the year too when the government of President Polk was making preparations to wrest California from Mexico. Following in his wake came the better known, but less important expedition of Commodore Matthew C. Perry, which set forth in 1852 with the avowed object of opening Japan. Daniel Webster inspired this expedition, characterizing Japan as "the last link in that great chain, which unites all the world, by the early establishment of a line of Steamers from California to China." Perry himself had a first-hand knowledge of the geography of the Pacific; he felt sure there would be a war with Great Britain for the mastery of that ocean; and he entertained hopes of acquiring control over the Bonin Islands and over Okinawa. "The World," he boasted, "has assigned this duty to us; we have assumed the responsibility and undertaken the task, and can not now hold back." But Perry's achievement fell short of his ambition: from the Japanese he got only a "shipwreck convention" around which was later built a legend of Japanese-American friendship. The real entrance of Japan upon the world scene came later.

The third of these expeditions is the least known, but in retrospect it seems the most important. At least it was the most purpose-

5 Congressional Globe, Senate, 30 cong., 2 sess., p. 473.

ful. This was the United States Surveying Expedition to the North Pacific, 1853-1856, under the command of Lieutenant John Rodgers. Rodgers intended to survey a route from San Francisco to Shanghai via the great circle, "because interesting points lie on the route, and because opinion points to [Shanghai] as the Chinese Emporium of American Commerce." Like Benton and many others, Rodgers had firmly in mind the North American road to India: "I think that the Pacific Railroad, and Steamers to China, will turn the tide of commerce this way," he advised in his final dispatch to Washington. "We shall carry to Europe their teas and silks from New York. . . . The results are so vast as to dazzle sober calculation."⁶

At this point let us pause to remind ourselves of the footholds gained by three of the Western powers in their mutual, but highly competitive convergence upon China. Honolulu comes first, in 1820, an international port in a native kingdom where American merchants and missionaries held sway. Next comes Hong Kong, taken by the British in 1842 and quickly developed as an entrepôt to South China. Third in the sequence is the International Settlement of Shanghai, originated in 1844 and developed chiefly by British and American nationals to command the trade of the Yangtze Valley. Fourth comes San Francisco, seized from Mexico by the United States as its leading prize of war. And then in 1858 the Russians in Eastern Siberia founded Vladivostok as a springboard for an advance toward Japan and North China.

In this scramble the United States was well along toward making the North American road to India a reality. But expectations were blunted by the outbreak of the Civil War; and then, when in 1869 the first transcontinental railway was completed and ready to be linked to a trans-Pacific steamship service, Europe responded by opening the Suez Canal which enabled it to keep its Oriental traffic from being diverted to the West. The completion of the Suez and of the Union Pacific-Central Pacific in the same year makes of 1869 one of the most significant dates of the nineteenth century.

Russia's willing disposal of Alaska in favor of the United States in 1867 seemed to give substance to the ideas of Perry M. Collins: a Russian-American entente for the mastery of the North Pacific and of Northeast Asia. To the American mind Alaska was the finger pointed at Asia; but Russian-American relations took a turn for the worse after 1867 and, moreover, the rise of Japan intro-

6 From the sources of these quotations see my *The Rising American Empire*, pp. 173-75.

duced a new and unexpected factor in the power politics of the Orient.

Meanwhile in the early 1880s American missionary and commercial interests, supplemented by railroad promotional schemes for China, resumed their advance. Here we come upon a perfect illustration of Max Weber's theme of the PROTESTANT ETHIC: the alliance of business, religion and the government. Thus Minister Charles Denby, a Middle Western lawyer with a knowledge of railroads, who held the diplomatic post at Peking for thirteen years, directed his efforts in behalf of American business whenever the opportunity arose. Denby had scant interest in the missionaries, who had been functioning in China for a half century and who also entertained political objectives, but he regarded them as "pioneers of trade and commerce." "Fancy what would happen to the cotton trade if every Chinese wore a shirt!" he exclaimed. "Well, the missionaries are teaching them to wear shirts!"⁷

Denby's ideas mark the beginning of a shift in the interests of the Western powers in competition one with another: a lessening of interest in the older type of the China trade, with its emphasis on the exchange of luxury goods, countered by a growing desire to sell durable goods to the Chinese and make loans and capital investments in China. To use a favorite catch phrase of today, China in the eyes of men like Denby was an "emerging nation."

In the course of pushing its own program for the economic exploitation of China, the United States took steps to strengthen its trans-Pacific communications: it deprived Spain of Guam and the Philippines; it used the occasion to formalize its annexation of Hawaii; business interests founded such corporations as the American China Development Corporation with railroad building and the sale of durable capital goods in view; and the government entered into a silent partnership with Japan to the end of driving Russia from Manchuria. Russian railway building in Manchuria drew attention to that region and its rich potential. After completing the original Trans-Siberian, the Russians shortened the line by construction of the Chinese Eastern, thus bisecting Manchuria. They then pushed into South Manchuria, building a branch line from Harbin to Port Arthur. Sharing Japan's alarm at this prospect of a Russian monopoly over Northeast Asia, the American government secretly encouraged the latter to make war, which the Japanese proceeded to do in 1904-05 with striking success. They expelled the Russians from South Manchuria and converted the rail-

7 Ibid., pp. 181-8

way into a colonizing and industrial complex for the exploitation of their half of Manchuria.

This turn of affairs the Americans viewed with both alarm and displeasure. They felt themselves being squeezed out of what was now regarded as the richest and most promising section of the Chinese Empire. American capital, religion and government joined hands against Japan. Manchuria was "America's New West," to use the phrase of Willard Straight, the rich and idealistic young man from New York who served the Taft administration as consul general at Mukden. Edward H. Harriman of the Union Pacific and the Taft Administration experimented with an ambitious proposal to both Japan and Russia to buy up their respective interests in Manchuria, but they met with a rebuff. Only a few years later, after first repudiating these ambitions, Woodrow Wilson tried to revive the program: first, he resorted to the missionaries, notably the Methodist Bishop Bashford, for advice on converting China to evangelical Christianity and making America the moral leader of China; then in 1917 he entreated, with indifferent success, the New York bankers to re-enter the competition for investment opportunities in China. Wilson is the perfect exemplar of the Protestant ethic.

The whole program, however, is a lesson in futility: the Chinese Revolution had already started in 1911, fed by the flames of anti-foreignism which had flared up at various times during the preceding century. China in the 1920s dissolved into a regime of war lords, among whom Chiang Kai-Shek ultimately rose to be champion. But his triumph ended abruptly in 1949 with the victory of the Chinese Communists. Meanwhile, beginning with Wilson, the United States entered on a collision course with Japan which terminated in 1945 with the spectacular, but otherwise barren military victory over Japan. The United States is farther away than ever for making itself the moral and economic leader of mainland China.

SUGGESTED READING:

Campbell, Charles S., Jr., *Special Business Interests and the Open Door Policy*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1951).

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Enchanted Garden

JEAN L. ROSSI

If your soul has been so starved for beauty that you cannot see the moon at night, you will miss the stars and all the wonders around you.



Pagoda in the Japanese Garden, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, California.

Our world today is not conducive to peaceful meditation and quietude which give strength to the soul and tranquillity to the body and the mind. But, in a Japanese garden the world of struggle and turmoil disappears for its very reason for being is based on peace where man can mediate and become one with nature. There is such a garden in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park where at night the moonlight filters through the branches of the pines mirroring the head of a Buddha in a silver pool below; and, where in spring the multi-colored carp play in the waters and there is a perfusion of single petaled cherry blossoms.

The gateway to this garden is a masterpiece of oriental craftsmanship. It is made of hundreds of pieces of hinoki¹ wood fitted together by dovetailing. Not a single nail exists in the entire structure other than on the two great doors as ornamentation. The four corners of the tile roof, copied from the roofs of the Imperial Palace in Japan, curve upwards softly towards the sky and high on the ends of the roof ridge with tails flipped upward are two carved fish believed to have the magical power to avert evil. Through this gateway pass thousands of visitors each year from all parts of the world. Few of these visitors, however, know the garden's dramatic story or understand and appreciate its symbolistic beauty. I speak of the Japanese Tea Garden.

Though it is only three quarters of a century old, the history and symbolism accumulated in this garden can be traced to third century Asia. But, before I explain the symbolism of the pagoda and the Buddha and the Japanese history of rocks and lanterns,

¹ Japanese cypress

I must tell you the seventy five year old story of the Tea Garden for it is filled with color and drama.

There came to San Francisco in 1876 a man who loved all forms of oriental art. Though he was born in Australia, he lived for many years in Japan, spoke the language and was considered a connoisseur of Japanese art. He was drawn to San Francisco by its oriental atmosphere and established in the famed Palace Hotel America's first oriental import shop catering to the Nob Hill money barons. This man was George Turner Marsh.

Seventeen years later in 1893, when America was feeling the disastrous effects of a depression,² Michel H. De Young,³ in an attempt to revive prosperity in San Francisco, proposed to a committee of fifty prominent local businessmen, of which Mr. Marsh was one, that the art from the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago be brought to San Francisco and exhibited at a Mid-Winter Fair.⁴ They enthusiastically accepted.

Thirty acres in the heart of Golden Gate Park was chosen.⁵ The

- 2 San Francisco's population was nearly 300,000 in 1893, when the nation wide depression caused the closing of eighteen local banks. Hundreds of the city's unemployed, formed a local contingent of "Coxey's Army", set out for Washington to demand Federal Aid. (Writers' Program on San Francisco — Page 106)

A panic which began to develop in February 1893 when the Reading Railroad went bankrupt ushered in the depression. On May 5th the supposedly solid National Cordage Company failed and brought about a stock market collapse and the panic. By the end of 1893 some five hundred banks and sixteen thousand business firms had been financially ruined. Not until 1897 did the economy return. (Great Depressions by John Sperling — Page 59)

- 3 Founder of San Francisco Chronicle. He was born in St. Louis, Mo. 9-3-1849, brought to California at age of five to a small mining town and later to San Francisco. Interested in the theatre, he entered newspaper publishing via "Daily Dramatic Chronicle" which he and his brother founded in January 1865 when M.H.D. was sixteen — brother eighteen. In 1868 the word "dramatic" was dropped from the title. On 9-1-1868 it appeared as Daily Morning Chronicle and later as San Francisco Chronicle. He was named Commissioner of various world Expositions. M. H. De Young Memorial Museum in Golden Gate Park is named after him. (Dictionary of American Biography — Page 283)
- 4 Officially the California Mid-Winter International Exposition (January 27, 1894 to June 30, 1894).
- 5 Area around today's Music Concourse. Known as Concert Valley in 1893. Around the concourse were grouped the buildings of the Mid-Winter Fair. Today there is a sunken outdoor auditorium seating twenty thousand. It is twelve feet below the surface of the surrounding roadway and roofed by formal rows of trees. Band concerts are held on Sunday afternoons. (Writers' Program on San Francisco — Page 338)



Mid-Winter fair, 1897, courtesy Wells Fargo Bank.

architectural theme of the five main buildings was most imaginative—three represented the Far and the Near East—Oriental, Egyptian and Moorish; and, two represented California—Mission and Spanish. There are but a few momentos of the Exposition to be found in the Park today and those are near the M. H. De Young Memorial Musum . . . a magnificent bronze vase⁶ by Paul Gustave Dore; a pair of sphinxes; an impressive bronze statute, The Wine Press; and, the Japanese Tea Garden.

The Tea Garden was designed by Mr. George Marsh and was called the Japanese Village during the Mid-Winter Fair. Mr. Marsh was so desirous that the 'village' be authentic in every detail that he imported workmen together with materials directly from Japan. When completed, it was considered so outstanding, it was retained as part of Golden Gate Park. In 1904 it was given into the expert care of Makoto Hagiwara who was a landscape gardener from the time of his arrival in San Francisco in 1884. Mr. Hagiwara was allowed to build his home in the garden, a two story authentic Japanese structure situated to the northeast of the tea house. In the tea house, Mr. Hagiwara's daughters busied themselves serving tea. After his death, his sons and daughters continued with their father's work as heirs to a dynasty until 1941

⁶ It is a massive three-ton bronze vase depicting in bas-relief the story of grape-titled Vintage.

when America was suddenly and sorrowfully plunged into war with Japan. In May of the following year the Hagiwara family was notified by the Park Commission that they were terminating their arrangement. The family was sent to a relocation center in Utah,⁷ their home in the garden razed and the garden's name changed to Oriental Tea Garden. No member of the Hagiwara family ever returned to the garden.

Many changes took place after their leaving and the garden gradually lost its authenticity due to landscaping by non-purests of the traditional Japanese century old rules and eventually it did become just an 'oriental' garden. But, in 1964 Nagao Sakurai, landscape architect at the Imperial Palace in Japan for 20 years, rel-landscaped parts of the garden. In 1952, the word 'oriental' was removed and the garden sign again read The Japanese Tea Garden.

Today it covers approximately six acres and can be dated into two periods. The Eastern portion containing the tea house, main entrance gate and the moon bridge is the remains of the 1894 Mid-Winter Fair; the Western portion containing the pagoda and torii gates was constructed after the Pan-American Exposition in San Francisco in 1914. In 1966 the East wall was removed so that the garden's beauty not only would compliment but also could be viewed from the spacious two story glass window of the Brundage Oriental Art Wing⁸ of the De Young Museum.

All that is within the Tea Garden has meaning. The water flows from East to West in harmony with the movement of the sun. The pines represent longevity; the turtle isle eternity and the bamboo bordering the walks is the symbol of strength. The red leaf maple found in the Western part of the garden represents fall in accordance with the setting sun; just as the flowering cherry trees originally were planted in the Eastern portion of the garden signifying new life or spring.

7 A special proclamation was issued by the U.S. government 3-19-42 designating the Western half of the West Coast of U.S. as prohibative for Japanese Ancestry-Americans.

8 Collection of Avery Brundage, Chicago construction millionaire and President of the Internation Olympics Committee, contains over five thousand oriental art objects spaning six thousand years. Estimated value of collection more than thirty million dollars. It is housed in the West wing, built especially for the collection of the M. H. De Young Memorial Museum. The wing contains twenty two galleries, a skylighted court and a lecture room sitting three hundred eighty four people.

On the raised portion or hill is a large bronze Buddha⁹ seated on a beautiful full blown lotus flower, symbol of purity reflecting Buddha's purity. Its elongated earlobes and protrusion on top of the head denote great wisdom and knowledge. The spot upon the forehead, the third eye, is the Asian way of signifying outwardly that Buddha sees all.

Close by is a five storied pagoda and like all things in the garden it too is meaningful. It represents the five elements — earth, fire, water, air and atmosphere; and, the five directions — North, East, South, West and Center. From its roof-top extends a bronze rod¹⁰ encircled by nine rings representing umbrellas¹¹ symbolizing the supreme rule of Buddha. Before this Shinto shrine is a Torii Gateway.¹²

Standing aloof and elegant among the evergreens, by the paths and near the pools are stone and bronze lanterns. Centuries ago

- 9 The Buddha is known as Amazarashi-No-Hotoke, meaning "the Buddha that sits throughout the sunny and rainy weather without a shelter." It was cast in 1790 in Tajima Province on Honshu in Japan for the Taionji Temple. It is made of bronze weighing a ton and a half and valued at fifteen thousand dollars. In 1928 it was purchased by the Gump family of San Francisco. In 1949 it was given to Golden Park in memory of A. Livingston, Alfred and William Gump.
- 10 This roof-top ornament is known as a sorin. Its various parts from the base upwards are—dew basin, inverted bowl, nine rings, water flame, dragon vehicle and sacred gem. (Pageant of Japanese Art—Architecture and Gardens, Edited by staff members of The Tokyo National Museum —Appendix 5)
- 11 Used as a protection from the sun by princes and carried on ceremonial occasions by attendants. On such occasions the umbrella was often so elaborate as to become a canopy. Thus the umbrella became the symbol of royal dignity. (Symbols, Signs and Their Meaning by Arnold Whittick)
- 12 The approach to a Shinto shrine passes under at least one torii. It has become a symbol of Japan. Originally designed as a perch for fowls that sing to the deities at daybreak, the torii subsequently came to be regarded as a gateway characteristic of Shinto. An ancient custom of offering live cocks to a shrine undoubtedly had some connection with the legendary rooster that perched upon the entrance of the Cave of Heaven, where the sun goddess hid herself and caused darkness to cover the earth. And since the sun goddess is the supreme divinity of Shinto, it was natural for believers to make offerings of the cocks to herald the rising sun. These cocks were originally placed on a bird perch made of two wooden posts and a crossbar erected in front of the shrine, and even after the perch evolved into the symbolical Shinto gateway, it still retained the original name of torii and its ideogram meaning bird perch. (The Traditional Arts of Japan by H. Batterson Boger — Page 132)



Bronze Buddha Statue, Japanese Garden, San Francisco, photo courtesy author.

the first lanterns were brought to Japan by Buddhist monks from Korea and placed in the courtyards before their temples and shrines. It was not until the fifteenth century, when the tea ceremony was introduced in Japan, that these beautiful lanterns were brought into the private gardens to light the path to the tea house.

Arrangements of stones throughout the garden create the harmonious beauty of nature. Each stone was chosen lovingly whether it was to simulate a waterful, form the ethereal cliffs of the Isle of the Immortals, be used as stepping stones to cross a pool, or to add beauty or give the appearance of strength to the banks of a pond. During the Edo Period (1615 to 1867) sums equal to those asked for precious jewels were paid for particularly beautiful stones; and, so highly were stones regarded during the fifteenth century Shoguns¹³ took them as bounty just as pirates took and hoarded gold.

How fortunate we are to have this lovely Japanese garden to visit and explore. Though its serenity has been marred by war and sorrow, it remains a place of exquisite beauty—it truly is enchanted.

¹³ Military governors of Japan, who usurped power until the revolution of 1867-68.

I Am A Citizen

TRISHA BANTLY

"Although some individuals may discriminate against me, I shall never become bitter or lose faith, for I know that such persons are not representative of the majority of the American people. Because I believe in American . . . I pledge myself to do honor to her at all times and all places; to support her constitution; to obey her laws; to respect her flag; to defend her against all enemies, foreign and domestic . . ."

The words above, written in 1940, are a part of the creed of the Japanese American Citizens League. They reflect the spirit of many of the 110,000 people, two-thirds of them American citizens, who were forced to leave their homes and businesses because of their suspected danger to the United States security.

In May, 1942, five months after Pearl Harbor, those people of Japanese ancestry who lived in Military Area Number 1, which included Southern Arizona and the western portions of California, Washington and Oregon,¹ were told they must leave their homes. Some had known for months they would eventually be forced to leave; others had only a few days notice of their impending evacuation.²

The question asked by many people today is, "How could something like this happen in a democratic country?" Another source of surprise and questioning on the part of those who did not live through evacuation and relocation is why the Japanese-Americans accepted such conditions and restrictions with obedience to United States government authority, and with virtually no resistance.

The predominant reason for such unjustified action against people of Japanese ancestry is due to fear. The citizenry of the West Coast in general were afraid, after Pearl Harbor, of a simultaneous attack from the west and from within. Farmers were afraid of economic competition from Japanese farmers who could raise successful crops even on marginal soil. They saw the panicky fear of Japanese-Americans which followed Pearl Harbor as an opportunity to do away with the people who farmed forty-three per cent of California's agricultural lands. Finally, 1942 was an election year, and politicians were afraid to go against public

1 Ogden Standard Examiner, May 17, 1942.

2 Interviews, December 31, 1968 through January 2, 1969.

opinion even if they were aware of the inexpediency of a mass evacuation of innocent people from their homes.

Another source of fear was due to misinformation supplied by various organizations who disliked the presence of Japanese aliens in "their" country; they must have forgotten that everyone here, or at least one of his ancestors, was at one time an immigrant alien. False information provided by such groups or individuals caused increased fear among the populace, who assumed what they read in the paper to be true. For example, statistics reporting the number of Japanese people in the United States were at times terribly exaggerated.³

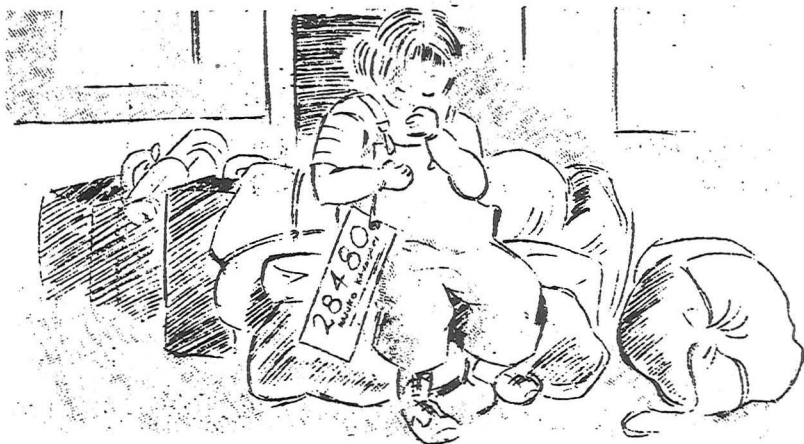
There were also many claims that the Japanese were attempting to undermine United States security because they lived near airports, highways or railroad bridges. Due to the general hysteria which was felt at the time, most people failed to realize that the Japanese occupied these areas because no one else wanted them; they were either poor land or too near to the noise of an airport or a set of railroad tracks.⁴

The Japanese, unlike many people of Chinese ancestry, were first-generation residents of the United States. This group, called *issei*, were born in Japan and immigrated to this country, most of them before 1924.⁵ Their children, called *nisei*, were American citizens by virtue of their birth on American soil, and they made up the majority of relocated Japanese who were American citizens.

3 America's Concentration Camps, by Allan R. Bosworth; copyright 1967; page 35.

4 Ibid; pages 76-77.

5 Japanese Exclusion Act, law passed in 1924.



The parents, the *issei*, were forbidden United States citizenship by a 1923 Supreme Court ruling.⁶ Other laws, especially strict in California, prohibited Japanese aliens from owning land,⁷ so that the many Japanese farmers had to rent or lease their farm lands.

Consequently the adults, nearly all of them *issei*, faced several problems. As aliens, they could not claim the rights of United States citizens, even though they were denied the opportunity to apply for naturalization. Their children, who *were* United States citizens, were nearly all too young to do anything but follow their parents to the relocation camps. Therefore, the *issei*, most of them past middle age, had to resign themselves to government orders.

Roy Nakatani, who was at the time of evacuation Vice President of the San Francisco Chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League, today owns a store in Ogden, Utah. He stood behind the glass counter in his store and described the people's reactions: "Everyone felt bitter, but thought if the government wants it that way, what can we do? The leaders decided we should follow the government. They voted, and the majority decided to obey."⁸

Although the *issei* were not United States citizens, neither were they traitors to their adopted country. Frank Nomura, remembering the days before evacuation, said his father told the family he was pretty sure they would not be troubled because he wasn't involved in anything.⁹ Most of the Japanese were not involved in anything. Of all the people accused of being spies on the West Coast, one person of Japanese ancestry received a light conviction on a technicality. Of the rest convicted as spies, most were of German descent, and no others were Japanese.¹⁰

So the Japanese faced evacuation because of fear and because of their ancestry, rather than because of their actions against their adopted country. The first problem the Japanese faced after notification of their impending evacuation was that of selling their belongings, their businesses, their homes. Most everything went at a loss, because time was short, and the worried parents had to take what they could get.

Most of the children were too young to realize exactly what was

6 Ozawa Case, Supreme Court, 1923. (It was ruled that since the Founding Fathers did not contemplate Japanese in this country, alien Japanese were not eligible for naturalization.)

7 Allan Bosworth, *Op. Cit.*; page 35.

8 Interview: Friday, January 3, 1969, with Mr. Roy Nakatani, Ogden, Utah.

9 Interview: Thursday, January 2, 1969, with Mr. Frank Nomura, Ogden, Utah.

10 Allan Bosworth, *Op. Cit.*; pages 46-47.



happening. Reverend Saburo Masada, whose father farmed near Fresno, California, remembers: "All the neighbors came and they were crying. I didn't know why they were crying."¹¹

Before being sent to a relocation camp, people were gathered together in assembly centers, which were usually fairgrounds or a similar location. Frank Nomura's family lived on a Washington farm. They spent about six months in an assembly center, or temporary camp, before being transferred to a permanent camp. He described this temporary camp as a lean-to line of barracks in the parking lot of the Western Washington Fairgrounds. Each family was assigned one room. The area was surrounded by barbed wire fences; there were guards in towers with searchlights. As far as he knows, no one ever tried to escape.¹²

Later the Nomura family was assigned to the relocation camp called Minnidoka near Jerome, Idaho. Most relocation camps were located in the western states. Some of them were Heart Mountain in Wyoming, Poston in Arizona, Topaz in Utah and Amache in Colorado. These camps were constructed similarly: they were wooden barracks surrounded by barbed wire fences and watch-towers. They were built to hold an average of 10,000 people. Most families had just one room of living space; the Masada family, in

11 Interview: Tuesday, December 31, 1968, with Reverend Saburo Masada, Ogden, Utah.

12 Interview: January 2, 1969, with Frank Nomura, Ogden, Utah.

Rohwer Camp in Arkansas, had two rooms because there were nine of them. They made their furniture out of scrap lumber left behind when the barracks were completed. Food was served three times a day at a central dining hall.

At Camp Amache in Colorado, the internees of that camp were given 10,000 acres of land to help provide food for the camp and reduce food costs. They raised cattle, hogs, chickens and feed crops. Some of the acreage was devoted to truck gardening. Roy Nakatani was a supervisor of this project. He can recall that they raised crops that had never been grown before in that country. Sometimes the government procurement office ordered food which they already had. Mr. Nakatani observed that "every bit of it was poor as far as efficiency was concerned."¹³

Schooling was undertaken more efficiently in most of the camps. Ken Monobe, whose family was sent from Los Angeles to Heart Mountain, Wyoming, said they had about the same courses in school, and that they were not behind when they returned to Los Angeles.¹⁴ Reverend Masada said the teachers had chosen to come to the camps, and most of them were helpful and dedicated. One of the teachers at the Tule Lake Camp in California, in writing a "Professional Narrative Report", after one year of teaching there, wrote: "I was eager to come here because I felt that I might be of help to a group of people, who needed sympathy and understanding Here was an opportunity to show these people that in spite of the fact that the Constitution had been violated by the action taken against them,* their American citizenship was worth holding" (*Fourteenth Amendment)¹⁵

According to Reverend Masada, the general attitude of the Japanese-Americans living in relocation camps was not one of bitterness. He says the feeling was that "there's more to life than evacuation. They rose above the bitterness of the concentration camps. They thought it was worth it to live in America, to be Americans."¹⁶

While their parents, wives and brothers and sisters lived in relocation camps, many men like Frank Nomura fought for their country both in Europe and in the South Pacific. Frank Nomura feels that the majority of the men who volunteered for service saw it as he did: "The United States is my country. We have to

13 Interview: January 3, 1969, with Roy Nakatani, Ogden, Utah.

14 Interview: January 2, 1969, with Kenneth Monobe, Ogden, Utah.

15 Guy W. Cook Collection, Stuart Library of Western Americana, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California.

16 Interview: December 31, 1968, with Reverend Masada, Ogden, Utah.

help it out. This is our opportunity; this is the way we can do it.”¹⁷

Most of the Japanese soldiers in Europe were in the famous 442nd Regimental Combat Team. The 442nd was the most decorated unit in the history of the United States Army.¹⁸

Upon release from relocation camps, which began in 1945, the Japanese-Americans faced new problems. One worry was the possibility that their white neighbors would be angry and bitter. But their outlook was optimistic. An article in the San Francisco News quoted a young *nisei* as saying: “To be released from camp one realizes more and more that America is worth fighting and dying for.”

Most of the Japanese did not expect to be troubled by their former white neighbors, and most of them were not. But there were some cases of violence, most of them in California’s San Joaquin Valley.¹⁹

Both during and after the war, the Quakers and Friends were the most willing to aid the Japanese. During the war, they worked to help release the Japanese. After the war, families like that of Ken Monobe were invited to stay in Quaker hotels in Eastern cities after their release from camp.

A problem faced by many *nisei*, who were now old enough to be on their own, was that of starting a new life. Most had nothing to start with, because their parents had lost everything when they were evacuated. So they started and worked hard to rebuild a new life. They faced problems and succeeded despite them. Roy Nakatani could not obtain a business permit in Brigham, Utah; the people there were hostile to outside business. So he went to Ogden, Utah to open his store, and has been working and living there ever since.

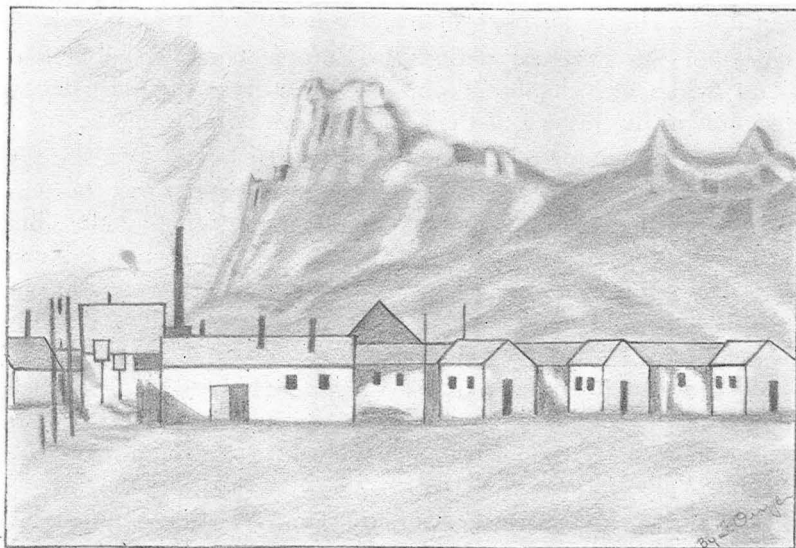
In 1942, 110,000 people were wrenched from the comfort and security of their daily lives. When their private lives were restored to them several years later, they began again and succeeded, proving that there *is* more to life than evacuation and relocation camps. An example of their acceptance of bad times while waiting for better times is expressed in the words of a Japanese-American, Sada Murayama who was living at the Tule Lake Camp, who wrote:²⁰

17 Interview: January 2, 1969, with Frank Nomura, Ogden, Utah.

18 Allan Bosworth, Op. Cit.; page 16.

19 Guy W. Cook Collection, Stuart Library of Western Americana, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California.

20 Ibid.



*Tule Lake Relocation Camp, California, sketched by an internee.
Courtesy Guy W. Cook Collection, University of the Pacific.*

LOYALTY

I am a citizen —
Let no slander
Slur my status.

In the other war,
I stood with countless others
Side by side
To fight the foe.
My arm was just as strong
My blood fell
As bright as theirs
In the defense of a new world
More precious far
Than any tie of land or race.

If in this holocaust
It be decreed
My loyalty be tested
By submission,
What is the difference
If the end be same?

My reason may be tested—
Not my heart.

O, what is loyalty
If it be something
That can bend
With every wind?

Steadfast I stand,
Staunchly I plant
The Stars and Stripes
Before my barracks door,

Crying defiance
To all wavering hearts.

I am a citizen—

I can take
The bad with good.

The Japanese Language in America

by YUSUKE KAWARABAYASHI

Almost as soon as the Japanese immigrants arrived in Hawaii, Buddhist temples appeared in their communities. At about the same time Japanese language schools were established in these temples. The difference between the Japanese immigrants and the immigrants of other ethnic groups was that the Japanese never planned to settle permanently in Hawaii, and they were planning to eventually return to Japan. For this reason, the Japanese parents wanted their children to understand Japanese and to be educated as Japanese. Actually the majority of *Nisei* were sent back to Japan for their education.

As the need for Japanese language schools increased, many schools were established in which they taught not only the language, but also culture, history, and other courses offered in the regular public schools. The Japanese children, therefore, attended the Japanese schools daily after completing their studies in the American public schools. Teachers were called in and the materials were sent in from Japan for this purpose.

Once the war broke out, however, the situation completely changed. It was almost a disgrace to be a Japanese American. Although many Americans of Japanese ancestry considered themselves just as American as people of any other ancestry, the Japanese Americans were not accepted as readily by the rest of society. In order to be accepted in this society, they had to discard as much of their Japanese heritage as possible.

Upon the fall of the Japanese Empire, the situation became even worse for the Americans of Japanese origin. Japan was literally reduced to shambles, to such an extent that no person could be proud of having this nation as his fatherland. Thus the Japanese schools disappeared completely from the Japanese American communities. As a result there are practically no *Sansei* (the third generation) who were brought up bilingually.

As Japan reconstructed itself from its post-war condition and regained its position as an economic and industrial power, the nation again became a country, the heritage of which the Japanese Americans could be very proud to have. As a natural consequence among the Japanese Americans, the pride and interest in their ethnical background were born and continued to increase as Japan's status rose. The Japanese schools were opened again in the Japanese American communities. Many universities started to offer

courses in the Japanese language and culture attracting students not only of Japanese background, but also of all other ethnic origins. As many of these universities established the Japanese Department, some high schools also started to offer courses in Japanese.

The importance of the Japanese language today is far greater than is commonly realized. Culturally speaking, more books are published today in Japanese than in any other language except in English and Russian. Economically speaking, there is no tie between two countries as important as that one between the United States and Japan. Industrially speaking, Japan is today the third industrial power. Therefore, no educational institution of higher learning can be considered complete without a course in Japanese.

Since only recently the Japanese language gained important status as a foreign language in American schools, it is very natural that the proper materials and trained teachers are not as abundant as in other foreign languages. There are three essential elements in language education: (1) students, (2) teachers, and (3) materials. The number of people studying Japanese in this country, Japanese or non-Japanese, is rapidly increasing. It is unfortunate, however, that there are not enough trained teachers or good materials to cope with the increasing number of students. Most of the teachers of Japanese in the United States are either students or teachers from Japan studying or teaching subjects other than Japanese. There are extremely few teachers trained to teach Japanese to Americans. Although there are many institutions in the United States designed to train teachers of European languages, there are extremely few designed to train the teachers of Japanese. It is desired that more private foundations and governmental support be given to the training programs for Japanese teachers, enough to match the importance of Japan to the United States.

In regard to the third element, materials, the Japanese language education in the United States lacks good materials today. There is practically no educational material available other than a limited number of textbooks. What few textbooks we have here have been published in Japan and written for Japanese children, or published in America by some one other than Japanese language specialists. Therefore, there are very few textbooks written for Americans by trained teachers of the Japanese language. Being trained only in Japanese or being a native speaker of Japanese does not suffice to present Japanese material properly to American students. An ideal textbook must be written by a person who is well-trained in English as well as in Japanese. Thus the most ideal Japanese textbook for

Americans, in my opinion, is the one in which the Japanese language is presented in terms of English grammar.*

In spite of these two major difficulties, wherever there is a small Japanese community, there is a Japanese school in which are taught not only the language, but also many other cultural arts such as flower arrangement, tea ceremony, dances, folk-singing, judo and karate. In such schools religious and philosophical concepts are also taught to the children of Japanese ancestry. In this troubled American society, perhaps the Japanese heritage must find itself of great use.

The Japanese Americans have been known to be courteous, patient, and law-abiding people. The Japanese have caused no problems for society. From today on, however, this type of passive contribution is not sufficient for any ethnic group to remain a part of the American culture, which is a mixture of contributions of different ethnic groups. Very few Japanese Americans have taken active part in helping the people of other ethnic groups. With their cultural heritage the Japanese can more actively contribute to the betterment of American society. Without this heritage education, the Japanese Americans will become a non-contributing ethnic group, and will very shortly lose their reputation as a distinguished one. Certainly no one can deny that today more and more Americans of Japanese ancestry are taking important parts in politics as well as industry. There are more Japanese Americans actively participating in proportion to the number of Japanese Americans to the total population. But should the Japanese Americans be satisfied with the contribution only to this extent? Considering the ethnic determination for educational and intellectual excellence, it is the duty of the Japanese Americans to contribute still more than they have been up until the present date. Then how can they actively and positively contribute more to the American society? The Japanese Americans must be able to offer their heritage to America by learning as much as possible of their cultural background. Then what is the first step to be taken? Language, and what else? It is though the language that the Japanese Americans can first come into contact with the Japanese heritage in the most proper way. Therefore, provided that the Japanese cultural heritage be understood and found to be contributing to the entire American culture, state and local governments should financially and morally support the establishment of more classes of Japanese language and culture. The federal government has designated Japanese as a critical language, a language that is not studied in this country as

much as its importance to America requires. Of course, it is giving financial support through the National Defense Education Act, but again not as much as it should. Would it be possible that the Japanese government or its offices in this country give educational or financial support to the Japanese program?

Thus there are various ways to promote the preservation and continuation of the Japanese heritage in America. But the most important of all is the Japanese Americans' realization of the importance of their heritage and America's need for its contribution. Without understanding and support of the Japanese Americans in no way could it be possible that America benefits from this small yet important ethnic group.

Let us understand and realize the importance of Japanese language education, and let us support and promote it!

*Currently I am preparing for publication a Japanese textbook entitled **Japanese for Americans**, in which the Japanese language is analyzed and explained from the standpoint of English grammar. It is my sincere hope that this will contribute to the solution of the language material difficulty which faces the Japanese language teachers in this country today.



Hawaii Hails Nippon

1968, marked the centennial of the first Japanese immigrants in Hawaii. My paternal grandfather was one of the group, which helps explain why I am at work on its history. **Hawaii Times**, Honolulu's leading Japanese daily, ran a series on the 149 members of the party. The celebration continued throughout the year.

CHARLES W. KENN,
*Native Hawaiian historian,
Honolulu, Hawaii*

*A Japanese girl in kimono from
Japanese Collection, Stuart
Library of Western Americana,
University of the Pacific.*

American-Japanese Marriages - How Stable Are They?

by JOHN W. CONNOR

Between 1947 and 1961 more than 46,000 American men married Japanese women.¹ As these marriages involved differences not only in race but also in religion and culture, it was believed that the couples would be poorly adjusted and their marriages relatively unstable.

It was discovered however that there have been few controlled studies of such marriages, the "common sense" assumption being that cultural and other differences between husband and wife would be so extreme that an intolerable strain would be placed on the marriage and it would ultimately fail. In perspective such an assumption can be seen to be an indirect result of several decades of prewar "negative" thinking about the Orient. This was the quaint and curious, the odd and the exotic.

In another sense it could also be said that the American people were the victims of their own wartime propaganda. For four years the Japanese were portrayed—with distinct racial overtones—as the most alien enemy the United States had ever fought. It is only natural, then, that the initial reaction of many to the news of such marriages was one of dismay.

The assumption or prediction that such marriages would result in poorly adjusted couples was based in part on somewhat limited evidence available from studies made before World War II. R. E. Baber, for example, made a study of 325 mixed marriages in New York City and concluded that ". . . the degree of happiness varied inversely with the degree of difference in culture or color".²

E. M. Duval and Reuben Hill reported that by 1936, 8000 of the original 10,000 marriages of American soldiers and French women had ended in divorce.³ In the revised edition of their book they continued to advise against intermarriage:

From data on international marriages of earlier date it is apparent that

- 1 Judson T. Landis and Mary G. Landis, *Building a Successful Marriage* (3rd. rev.; New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), pp. 214-15.
- 2 R. E. Baber, "A Study of 325 Mixed Marriages", *American Sociological Review*, 2: 716-730.
- 3 E. M. Duvall and Reuben Hill, *When You Marry*, (New York: D. C. Heath and Co., 1945). p. 117.

intermarriage of people with different family backgrounds proves hazardous because neither party completely understands the values cherished by the other. Fully accepted by members of neither society, the intermarried pair usually finds itself excommunicated from contacts with many people and is usually forced to join other atypical couples for purposes of social intercourse.⁴

And again:

Most of the research on intermarriage has been centered on interracial marriages in this country. Without exception the findings from this research argue against intermarriage . . . Students of the problem consider the differences in the ways of life of the participants in such a marriage to be more divisive than the differences in skin color or facial features.⁵

In another work, *The American Family*, by Ruth Shonle Cavan, the author commented on the difficulties an Oriental wife would encounter:

From time to time, the United States has made arrangements for the entrance of wives from other nations in the United States. When the wives are Australian or European, the adjustment that they make is cultural and social; they meet a minimum of prejudice. The Oriental wife, however, faces not only the cultural and social adjustment but also the barrier of racial prejudice. The parents, brothers, sisters, and friends of the husband often are unprepared for the marriage and psychologically unable to accept an Oriental into the family and friendship circles. The wife also is unprepared, since she is unfamiliar with American culture and unaware of the prejudice that will greet her. Often she is the only Oriental in the community to which her husband has brought her and hence cannot turn to others of her own race for sympathy and friendship.⁶

Paul H. Landis had somewhat the same apprehensions in 1955 when he wrote:

. . . as America plays a leading part in the world leadership, more and more of her young men are going to have the opportunity to marry girls of different racial and nationality strains while stationed abroad. Such marriages are often entered into from loneliness and during periods of great sex hunger. It is not likely that choices made at such times will be based on clear judgement and objectivity. There is often an inclination on the part of the youth to forget that his foreign wife will be expected to fit into a world entirely new and strange to her when he returns home. The transition is so great that few foreign women can be expected to make it without great difficulty and without considerable tolerance on the part of the husband and his family.⁷

4 E. M. Duvall and Reuben Hill, *When You Marry*, (Rev. ed., New York: D. C. Heath and Co., 1953), p. 160.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Ruth Shonle Cavan, *The American Family*, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1953), p. 248.

7 Paul H. Landis, *Making the Most of Marriage*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1955), p. 179.

Articles dealing specifically with the subject of Japanese brides of American servicemen were mostly pessimistic about the outcome of such marriages. For example, one article by J. E. Smith and W. L. Worden in the *Saturday Evening Post* predicted that such marriages would have great difficulty.⁸

The pessimistic theme was repeated in several fictional accounts of American-Japanese marriages. One of the first, *The Hidden Flower* by Pearl S. Buck, tells of the problems encountered by an American officer and his Japanese bride, both of whom came from upper-middle-class backgrounds, when he returns to Virginia. The racial opposition they encounter places an intolerable strain on the marriage and the Japanese girl returns to Japan.⁹ James A. Michener's bitter-sweet *Sayonara* also ends with the problem unsolved. The hero departs Japan unmarried with the words of his commanding officer still ringing in his ears: "First-class men sometimes fall in love with native girls, of course they do. But they get over it. They forget the girls and they go home. They go back to work."¹⁰

The object of the study, then, was to examine the assumption that marriages between American Caucasian males and native-born Japanese females would be relatively unstable because the individuals were poorly adjusted as a result of differences in culture, religion, and race.

The study itself was conducted in the Sacramento area during 1965-1966. A preliminary investigation had indicated that considerably over one hundred American-Japanese couples resided in the area, although the size of the group fluctuated somewhat from time to time as a number of the husbands were still in the service.

Because of severe limitations of time and money it was obvious that not all of the couples could be interviewed. Moreover, as the study progressed it also became apparent that another important limitation would be the willingness of the couples to cooperate. In all, although over fifty couples were contacted, only twenty agreed to be interviewed. The information obtained from these couples, however, was quite revealing and we shall consider it in a moment.

A second difficulty was the availability of data on the marriages that had failed. Neither the United States Government nor any

8 J. E. Smith and W. L. Worden, "They're Bringing Home Japanese Wives", *Saturday Evening Post*, (244:29, January 19, 1952).

9 Pearl S. Buck, *The Hidden Flower*, (New York: The John Day Co., 1952).

10 James A. Michener, *Sayonara*, (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1957), p. 211.

other agency compiles statistics that would indicate the number of such failures. Although the Japanese Consulate does have data on Japanese immigrants, no record is kept once the immigrants become naturalized American citizens.

An attempt was made to remedy this deficiency by inquiring if the Japanese wives had known of such failures. While it was obvious that the type of information thus obtained could hardly be used for purposes of statistical analysis, it was hoped that it would shed light on the reasons for the failures. In addition, five Japanese women whose marriages had failed were also interviewed.

The overall impression received from these sources was that when failures do occur they are more often than not occasioned by personal problems that existed before the marriage. For example, three of the five husbands whose marriages had ended in separation or divorce had emotional problems of rather long duration. It also seems likely that these disorders were related to severely disrupted childhoods and frequently broken homes, although this could not be completely determined from the data.

Several facts of significance did emerge from the study, however. Foremost was the discovery that both husbands and wives had a rather high frequency of disrupted family backgrounds. In the case of the wives some forty percent had lost one or both parents before marriage; while on the husband's side it was just as likely that family ties had been loosened by divorce as by the death of a parent.

Indirectly, it was the disrupted family backgrounds that brought the couples together. Because of the necessity for self-support and family assistance, the majority of wives were employed by the United States military forces at the time they met their spouses. Indeed, a rather large number of couples met while working in the same office.

Yet while the military may have enabled the couples to meet, it later did everything possible to discourage the marriages. With the exception of three who were civilians and were married within a week or two after making application, the majority of those married in the early 1950's experienced considerable difficulty in having their applications approved; in most cases the time required was from six months to a year. In some organizations it was the policy of the commanding officer to treat applications for marriage as requests for transfer back to the United States. Several of the more determined ones later returned to Japan as civilians to be married.

The fact that such difficulties were a matter of deliberate policy was substantiated by one informant whose military duties often included screening the applications for marriage. The informant

stated that the military tried to keep "young inexperienced kids" from being married. He felt that this was a good thing, although he related that his own application for marriage required twenty-four attachments and appearance before a board of officers before permission was granted. The informant was at the time forty-five years old and a veteran of twenty years' service.

It does seem likely, though, that whatever justification the military employed, the practice of thoroughly screening and sometimes delaying applications had the effect of discouraging many who were simply lonely or temporarily infatuated. Undoubtedly, it has had a great deal to do with eliminating the poorer prospects. It is likely that without such screening the number of stable marriages would be appreciably lower.

An analysis of the data accumulated during the study of the American-Japanese couples resulted in certain findings which can be summed up in the following general statements:

The majority of American-Japanese couples are mature adults. There should be no problems resulting from youth or immature judgement. The majority of the couples also have children, a generally accepted integrative factor.

The occupations of the husbands were largely associated with the military, either on active or retired status. Those who are retired generally have civil service jobs. The incomes are sufficient in most cases to preclude financial problems from becoming a major source of difficulty. The remaining husbands, save one who was a student, also have adequate incomes. The occupation of ninety-five percent of the wives was that of housewife.

The social background of husbands was generally upper lower class to lower middle class. With certain reservations it could be said that the social background of the wife was slightly higher with a preponderance of middle class parents.

Five of the husbands had previous marriages, while only one wife had been previously married. The remarriages have endured at least nine years.

The median age of the couples at the time of marriage was 26.5 for the males and 23.5 for the females. Both figures are above the median for marriages in the United States. The median of twelve months of courtship, the difficulties experienced in having the marriage approved, and the 9.5 years median duration of the marriage can be accepted as favorable indications of marital stability.

The religious faith of the couples was seen to pose no great difficulties. In several cases the wife adopted the husband's religion, and in two cases the husband adopted the wife's religion.

The children were seen to be progressing normally in school. There were apparently few attempts to teach the children Japanese, and only an occasional act of prejudice was reported against them. It is possible that the absence of prejudice is due to the fact that the majority of children are still quite young. There have been few overt acts of prejudice against the couple, and those that have occurred were far fewer than had been expected.

In-laws were not seen to be a difficulty. Seventy-five percent of the couples had their nearest in-laws living out of the states, and at the time of marriage the majority of the families of both the husband and wife were either apparently unconcerned or against the marriage. Seventy percent of the couples reported that they had more American Caucasian friends than American-Japanese or Nisei friends.

The majority, or seventy percent of the couples, stated that they preferred to live in the United States rather than in Japan for reasons of comfort or children's education. This was taken as a favorable indication of adjustment.

The hobbies of the couples were largely seen to be of a type that could be practiced at home and would not require prolonged or frequent absence from the family.

The willingness of the wife to attend bride school or English school and the duration of the couples' stay in Japan were seen to be favorable factors, as was the husband's willingness to accommodate the wife in matters of religion and food.

Both husbands and wives appear to be marginal individuals in that they apparently had no great emotional ties to their families or to the prevailing mores of the society.

An examination of five marriage failures disclosed no cases of failure due to racial or religious reasons. One case of failure was due to cultural differences, one due to immaturity, and three resulted from emotional disorders on the part of the husbands.

An overall appraisal of the major findings listed above would lead to the major conclusion that the marriages of the twenty American-Japanese couples who took part in this study are at least as stable, and the couples are as well adjusted, as are the marriages and adjustments of American Caucasian couples of comparable marital experience and social-economic background.

It will be recalled that the purpose of the study as originally stated was to examine the assumption that marriages between American Caucasian males and native-born Japanese females would be relatively unstable because the individuals were poorly adjusted as a result of differences in culture, religion, and race.

From the evidence already given it is apparent that the marriages are not unstable and the couples are relatively well adjusted. It would follow then that those who made the predictions of instability and poor adjustment erred in their assumptions.

An examination of the assumptions underlying the predictions of instability is quite revealing. If, for example, we analyze the statement by E. M. Duvall and Reuben Hill quoted earlier we find that their principal assumption is that the marriage would prove hazardous because of the conflict in values.

The expectation that the couples would be excommunicated has been shown to be in error. It will be recalled that seventy percent of the couples interviewed listed that more of their friends were American Caucasian than American-Japanese couples.

The principal assumption that there would be a conflict in values does sound convincing, especially when used in reference to the Japanese wives. The Japanese were, after all, considered the most alien enemy the United States had ever had. An examination of the literature, however, does not support the assumption that there was a conflict in values.

Caudill and De Vos have advanced the thesis that the rapid acculturation and rise to middle class status of the Nisei in Chicago during World War II was due in large part to the fact that the value system of the Japanese-Americans approximated that of the white middle class:

In general, the over-all results of the research on Japanese-Americans in Chicago seem to bear out the hypothesis that the values and adaptive mechanisms of the Japanese-Americans and lower middle class are highly compatible, while the lower class diverges from both these groups and presents a different psychological adjustment. Where Japanese-American values differ in emphasis by comparison with middle class values, these differences are not of such a nature as to draw unfavorable comment from the middle class. Indeed, the differences would probably be considered praiseworthy by the middle class, if a little extreme, as in the extent of duty to one's parents, and the need to be of benefit to society.¹¹

Although the above does indicate a paralleling of the value systems of the Japanese-Americans and the American middle class, it might be argued that the value system was peculiar to the American-Japanese and is not applicable to the Japanese wives. Additional research does not support such a contention. *Village Japan* by Richard K. Beardsley and others is a study of an agricultural village in Southwestern Japan that can be used to provide an answer.

11 William Caudill and George De Vos, "Achievement Culture and Personality: The Case of the Japanese Americans", *American Anthropologist*, 58: 1102-1126.

As a part of the study a series of Thematic Apperception Tests were administered to a group of villagers. The purpose of the testing was to determine the value orientation of the group. The results are as surprising as those of the Japanese-Americans studies by Caudill and De Vos:

In the ethics of Niiike, effort expended in work has positive value, for its own sake as well as to compensate for evils and misfortunes. People are more inclined to view work as a positive opportunity to achieve success than to regard it as a burden thrust on them by circumstances or by someone in higher authority.¹²

Again, however, it may be argued that the Japanese wives were predominantly urban and middle class and that the rural experience does not apply to them. Such a conclusion might be premature. Several recent studies focusing on urban Japanese indicate an even closer paralleling of values.

In many respects, middle class Japanese possess a value orientation that is remarkably like that of the American middle class. It is generally thought that two values in particular mark the difference between upper and middle class behavior and that of the lower class. These two values are an intense drive to achievement and a long term postponement of gratification. In his description of American life W. Lloyd Warner writes:

Upward mobility in the middle class is always encouraged and strongly rewarded, not only in the training of the child by the parent and his school-teachers, but in the late rewarding experiences he has when he strives for success as a mature person in an adult world.

Children of the middle and upper classes are raised with their eyes on a goal of achievement for which they must, if necessary, make present sacrifices. They are expected to go to college and strive for high occupational status. Restraint is put on present activities for the sake of future gain.¹³

A number of authorities on Japan have emphasized the role of education in the realization of long range goals. Vogel in particular considers the Japanese examination system to be of considerable importance in arriving at a middle class salaried position. The chapter devoted to a description of the system is entitled "The Gateway to Salary: Internal Entrance Examinations."¹⁴

The importance of the examination system can be better understood when one realizes that Japanese firms have the custom of

12 Richard K. Beardsley, John W. Hall and Robert E. Ward, *Village Japan*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 68.

13 W. Lloyd Warner, *American Life Dream and Reality*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 110.

14 Ezra Vogel, *Japan's New Middle Class*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), p. 142.

hiring employees for life. In return, the employee does not seek another job. Since the best jobs are with the largest firms and the largest firms have the custom of hiring graduates from a select number of leading universities, there is a type of self-filling prophecy at work. The best students will flock to the best universities in order to get the best jobs.

The net result of such a system is that a person's future literally depends upon passing the entrance examinations. Of course, in order to be prepared to take the entrance examination at a leading university one should have received the preparation at the best possible high school. And in order to enter the best possible high school one must have graduated from the best possible junior high school. All of the "best" schools take great pride in the number of graduates passing the examination at the next higher level. The effect of all this is that a tremendous amount of pressure is placed on the youngster to achieve, beginning in elementary school and continuing into his twenties.¹⁵

From the quoted material it can be seen that the basic assumption of a conflict in values was in error. It is probable that the similarity in values actually served to stabilize the marriage. One is reminded here of the remark by a husband to the effect that his family was impressed by his wife's cleanliness as only one indication of a parallel in values.

Another assumption underlying the prediction of instability was that the difference in race would place a heavy burden on the marriage:

The Oriental wife . . . faces not only the cultural and social adjustment but also the barrier of racial prejudice.¹⁶

The previous analysis of the questionnaire disclosed that the acts of prejudice were felt to be lower than anticipated. Those incidents that were reported were generally of an anti-Oriental nature and only in a few cases specifically aimed at the couple because the wife is Japanese. By all available indication the amount of anti-Oriental prejudice has decreased in recent years. In a survey of minority groups in the San Francisco Bay area, Wilson Record noted:

With money and determination to explore the wider housing market an Oriental-American can usually locate a suitable place. Moreover he can live there in a relatively relaxed community setting. Whites may occasionally express their resentment, and may even take overt steps to prevent Oriental

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 40-71.

16 Cavan, *op. cit.*, (1953 ed.), p. 248.

occupancy. Such gestures, however, are no longer so likely to be systematic or sustained.¹⁷

One additional assumption made by Paul H. Landis was that the difference in culture would be so great that few of the wives could change without great difficulty.¹⁸

The experience of the wives in bride schools and also their urban backgrounds probably did much to reduce the difficulties Landis expected. One other factor that should be stressed here is that the majority of wives anticipated difficulty both from the stories they had heard and by reason of their training and social background. In Japan before the war—at a time when the majority of the Japanese wives in this study were receiving their education—a young woman anticipated a great deal of difficulty when she went to live with her husband's family. She was also expected as a dutiful wife to defer to the wishes of her husband. Undoubtably this has had a great deal to do with the stability of the marriages and the adjustment of the couples. Beardsley records that a wife may still experience difficulty in rural areas. He tells of one mother-in-law who had the marriages dissolved of three of the brides her son brought home, and was about to send the fourth bride home when the son moved away with his wife to live in the village.¹⁹

The incident mentioned by Beardsley has an interesting parallel in the experience of Japanese and European war brides in Hawaii who had married Japanese-American husbands. Contrary to what might be expected it was the Japanese brides who experienced the greatest difficulty in adjusting to their in-laws.

The European war brides were not expected to be familiar with Japanese customs and so little was expected of them. The Japanese war brides, on the other hand, were treated as brides were customarily treated in rural areas. They were expected to defer to the mother-in-law on all occasions and abide by all the obligations and rules of conduct governing filial piety. Many of the brides rebelled and wanted to have their own independent families. Yukiko Kimura states that seventy percent of the European war brides reported good relationships with their Japanese-American in-laws while only forty-eight percent of the Japanese war brides reported such a relationship.²⁰

17 Wilson Record, *Minority Groups and Intergroup Relations in the San Francisco Bay Area*, (Berkeley: University of California, Institute of Governmental Studies, 1963), p. 23.

18 Paul H. Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

19 Beardsley, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

20 Yukiko Kimura, "War Brides in Hawaii and Their In-Laws". *American Journal of Sociology*, 63: (1958), pp. 70-76.

The above would seem to indicate that contrary to the assertion by Landis that few foreign women could be expected to make the transition without difficulty, the experience of the Japanese wives in moving from the constrictive Japanese traditional family to the more permissive American conjugal family may actually have had the effect of stabilizing the marriage.

The final assumption, of course, was that although the couples were expected to be atypical in the sense of having engaged in an international marriage, they were also generally expected to behave in typically normal fashion when faced with the problems of in-law disapproval, religious differences, and racial and cultural differences.

What seems to be forgotten is that both parties in such marriages came from highly selected groups. There was no outside pressure on the male to become married. Those who carried on temporary liaisons with Japanese females were under no obligation to make their relationship permanent, as indeed most of them did not.

The same remarks would also apply, but to a lesser extent, to the Japanese girls. There were, of course, fewer Japanese men available after the Pacific War, but this need not in itself force the women into marriage with an American. Nor would the threat of an unwanted pregnancy force a marriage. Even in the early 1950's safe and inexpensive abortions were easily obtainable in all but the smallest communities.

One other factor often overlooked in the perspective of twenty years and the transformation of Japan from enemy to ally is that the official military attitude against such marriages was shared initially at least by the majority of the men. It would be a mistake to assume that the average replacement entered Occupied Japan spellbound by its beauty, quaintness and charm. The subsequent rash of bitter-sweet romances depicting the gallant American falling in love with an almond-eyed beauty against a background of cherry blossoms, brocaded kimonos, and classical *koto* music is largely a figment of the Hollywood imagination. The more typical response of the early occupation soldier is that given by Elliot Chaze:

It comes as a shock to the average American to find himself custodian of such a smelly and strange country. His initial impulse is to remain as aloof from the Japanese as possible. But as time and circumstance prove this unworkable, the occupation troops devise their own methods for forgetting that the thing entrusted to them seems hardly worth the trouble.²¹

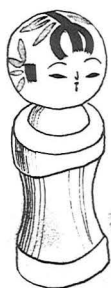
21 Elliott Chaze, *The Stainless Steel Kimono*, (New York: Madfadden Books, 1965), p. 7.

Those who married, in the early days at least, often had to contend with both official disapproval and the disapproval of their friends. That this was a strong selective factor goes without saying. It is not surprising, therefore, that the individuals who engaged in international marriage are often of a rather stubborn, independent nature. Some indication of this can be seen in the rather brusque replies encountered when their cooperation in this study was solicited, to say nothing of the unanswered letters and the others who telephoned Sacramento State College to determine if the study itself were legitimate. Indeed, after interviewing a few of them it seemed rather tame to classify them simply as "marginal individuals who do not feel completely obligated to follow the customs of their native culture."



Pacific Historian Consultant Ky Kimura with Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Sayre during their recent visit to Japan.

"1969"



THE CENTENNIAL YEAR

By HENRY TAKETA

*Refrain of rock-a-bye, heard in far away land,
Okei, just seventeen, why did she cry?
As she quietly sang the Lullaby
Of her native land, why did she cry?
Refrain of rock-a-bye, distant clouds swept by,
In the lonely sunset, her heart searched afar,
Only in her dreams could she return home,
Toward her beloved Aizu, she watched the stars.
The song of rock-a-bye, she sang as she cried,
Gentle Okei, longing and waiting in vain,
As winter fled and spring had arrived,
For glad tidings from home, which never came.*

(Interpretation of Okei's Lullaby)

For persons of Japanese ancestry, the year of 1969, will bear special significance in that it has all the birthright of a centennial year for those Japanese immigrants of long ago who chose to leave behind their island homes and seek their fortune, gainful employment and a new life in the United States. They had the making of hardy pioneers, which in fact they were. With pride, hope, industry and patience, they not only survived but successfully overcame the many natural obstacles and man's prejudices of their time and made possible a better world of today for themselves, their children and children's children. Many have since gone their parting ways and, for those still among us, most are in their twilight years. In our sober moments, we give thanks for all that they have done and pray for their deserving reward.



Castle, Aizu Wakamatsu, Japan

If 1969, is to be a true and meaningful centennial for our Issei generation, the pages in the book of time must be turned back a full century. Search and research undertaken must prove without a shadow of any doubt the timely arrival in 1869 of the Japanese people, not by accident or misfortune as would be the case of a shipwrecked sailor or fisherman or on temporary leave from Japan by a student, traveler or trader, but for permanent settlement somewhere in the United States. Over the past forty years, bits of evidence had been gathered and, as pieces from here and there and out of the past were put together, they gradually brought to light the Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Farm Colony of Gold Hill, El Dorado County, California, and its people of a hundred years ago.

This episode of early California is little known because the Colony was ill-fated and short-lived. At best, the records are fragmentary and meager, but everything about the Colony and the colonists miraculously fell into its proper place. Through persistence and industry on the part of a few researchers¹, the story of the coming of the Wakamatsu colonists; their arrival at Gold Hill in June, 1869, and venture into farming; the abandonment of the farm colony and the exodus of its people; Okei and her grave, Matsunosuke Sakurai, and other people and events of the time can now be unfolded and told with exactitude as it happened.

Hereafter, new discoveries will serve to refine what is already known and not to establish the very existence of the Wakamatsu Colony and its people.

On December 9, 1966, an application was submitted by the writer in behalf of several sponsors² to have the "Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Farm Colony of Gold Hill" recognized as an episode of historical significance by the Historical Landmark Advisory Committee of the Division of Beaches and Parks. The application was unanimously approved at the conclusion of the hearing on December 16, 1966, with the understanding that the plaque and monument dedication be deferred until sometime in 1969, "the 100th anniversary of the Colony's founding." At this point the biographical portion of the application may adequately serve to bring to the readers the story of the Wakamatsu Colony, its people and their brief but memorable existence:

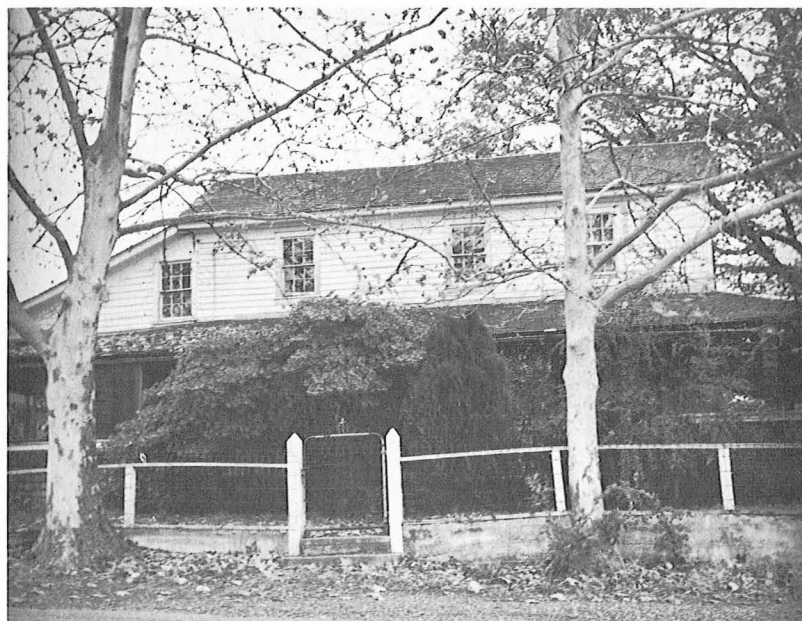
WAKAMATSU TEA AND SILK FARM COLONY OF GOLD HILL

"The most notable contribution of the pioneer immigrants from Japan to the economy and industry of the State of California and the United States has been in the field of agriculture. With utmost patience, preserverance and industry, they cleaned, leveled and irrigated land and brought crops to bear in soil which had previously remained idle or had been put to limited use for pasturage and grazing.

"Japanese immigration of any consequence to the United States was in the late 1890s and early 1900s, and their influence upon California's farming industry was in direct ratio to the number of new arrivals. However, it is most significant that its humble beginning was with the coming of a small but proud and determined group from Aizu Wakamatsu in Japan to Gold Hill, El Dorado County, on or about June 8, 1869, to establish a farm settlement, although this venture lasted less than two years and ended in tragedy.

"Aizu Wakamatsu, led by its last feudal lord, Katamori Matsudaira, and a number of other ruling clans had the misfortune of supporting Tokugawa Shogunate in its conflict against the followers of Emperor Meiji who favored centralized imperial power and had suffered a crushing defeat. Chaos reigned for a time in Japan, and there was genuine fear for life and property among the losers. Either at the suggestion of Eduard Schnell, a trader of Dutch or German descent and a long-time confidant of the lord of the Aizu Wakamatsu, or to prepare for a possible sanctuary or refuge if it became necessary to flee the homeland, Lord Matsudaira made plans for the first organized emigration to the United States and brought into existence the ill-fated and short-lived Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Farm Colony of Gold Hill.

"Between nine to ten persons under the leadership of Eduard (John Henry) Schnell consitituted the first vanguard of several groups of contingents. Sixteen more were soon to follow, and others (including Okei, nursemaid to



Graner House which was the headquarters of the Schnell Family, Gold Hill, El Dorado County

the Schnell household, Matsu and Kuni) were to arrive at the Colony later. Gold Hill of El Dorado County may have been selected for this colonization for its scenic and topographical similarity to their Japanese homeland or because many early settlers were from Holland or Germany as was Schnell. Many of the colonists were farmers and those in the trades, but several were samurai followers of Lord Matsudaira. Six Japanese women, including Mrs. Schnell, and four young children were with the pioneer colony. Two of the children were the daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Schnell, and the remaining two were daughters of Japanese families. The original party arrived at San Francisco aboard the sidewheeler, "China", of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company on May 27, 1869, proceeded to Sacramento by riverboat, and thence wagoned to Placerville and Gold Hill where Eduard Schnell had arranged to purchase 160 acres for the farm colony. With them came 50,000 three-year old mulberry trees for silk farming, a large quantity of bamboo roots for food and craft industry, tea seeds, wax tree stocks, grape seedlings and other varieties of plants and seeds of their native land. Also, sizeable shipments of cuttings and plants were to be received at Gold Hill after initial preparations had been completed. However restrictive or limited, the Japanese people were now traveling between California and their homeland of Japan in the interest of their agricultural undertaking at Gold Hill, El Dorado County.

"Immediately upon their arrival, the settlers set out to build their homes and clear and plant their crops on the land purchased from Charles M. Graner, and for over a year it appeared that they would be rewarded for their determination and many sacrifices. However, combination of dry climate of the area, scarcity of irrigation water, lack of funds and failure of financial assistance to come from Japan as promised doomed the pioneer project in less than two years. Beset with money problems and other problems, Eduard Schnell left the colony with his Japanese wife and two minor daughters with assurance to the colonists that he would return with much needed funds, but he failed to do this and thus abandoned his Japanese followers to their own fate in a strange and often hostile land.

"As dictated by necessity and self-preservation, the settlers sold most of their valuables and belongings to ward off hunger while patiently waiting for their leader who never returned, and ultimately each was compelled to go his own way. Some were able to return to Japan and others moved elsewhere where employment was more promising. From every indication, only Matsunosuke Sakurai, a samurai, and Okei Ito, nursemaid to the Schnell household, remained behind at Gold Hill where they were befriended and employed by the early pioneer family of Francis Veerkamp. His descendants are to be found in the Gold Hill-Coloma area where they are engaged in farming and business. Okei is said to have died of fever at the age of 19 in the spring of 1871, and was buried at the knoll of a hill which she frequently climbed to watch the setting sun and gaze in the direction of her homeland. Her headstone reads both in English and Japanese, "In Memory of Okei, died 1871, Aged 19 years, a Japanese Girl." Matsunosuke Sakurai faithfully served the Veerkamp family until his death on February 25, 1901, and he now lies at rest in the Vineyard Cemetery at Coloma, the historical site of Marshall's gold discovery and a few miles from Gold Hill.

"With its tragic ending, the colony soon passed into oblivion, and its very existence was lost and forgotten until after World War I. Unquieted rumor persisted that a Japanese girl, who died in the gold-rush period, was buried at Gold Hill near Coloma. A search was undertaken by several Sacramentans, and the first person they interviewed was the 75 year old Henry Veerkamp, son of the pioneer settlers who befriended and gave shelter and employment to Okei Ito and Matsunosuke Sakurai, the last of the colonists to remain at Gold Hill. He was a year older than the Japanese girl he knew as "Okei San" and, in vividly recalling the past, he told the story of the tea and silk farm, its Japanese pioneers and their hopes, industry, disappointments, suffering, hardships and ultimate abandonment of the colony. He pointed out the site of the settlement and the location of Okei's grave, and thus the Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Farm Colony was rediscovered."

Understandably, 1969 will be a climactic year for those who had indulged in time-consuming and painstaking research on the Wakamatsu Colony and for others who have come to love this phase of California's early history. For them it has been one of constant vigil to keep the delicate story of the first immigrant group



Keyaki Tree. Only known thing to have survived the abandonment of the Colony. The tree is next to the Graner House.



*View of the Okei's Graveside from
Gold Trail Union Grammar school, Coloma, California*

from Japan of a century ago from again fading away and passing into oblivion. Over the years, not all words were kind or complimentary on the subject of this writing, and it was looked upon as "much ado about nothing." In recent times and noticeably within the last several months, more persons concerned with or interested in the heritage of the Japanese people of America have come to the realization that with the dawn of 1969 will come the Centennial Year not only for the early pioneers of the ill-fated Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Farm Colony of Gold Hill, El Dorado County, but for all Japanese who chose to make some place in America their home. The last paragraph of the Historical Landmark application sincerely expressed the minds and hearts of its sponsors and may imbue the readers with the same sense of spiritual tribute for the people of Wakamatsu Colony and their dramatic but short-lived venture and others who took leave of Japan a few years later and made possible, through hope, pride, patience and industry, our world of today:

"Although the Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Farm Colony was short-lived and suffered its tragic ending, it signaled the coming of Japanese pioneers to America and the beginning of their notable contribution of the agricultural industry of California. During the past three-quarters of the century, they have left their marks in the teeming valleys throughout the length and breadth of this great State. Many descendants are carrying on the work of their pioneer forebears with the same devotion, determination and skill which helped to make California the most productive farming state in the United States and the greatest agricultural region in the world. Thus, it is befitting that the land which was once the Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Farm Colony be historically recognized as the site of (a) the only silk and tea farm in this State and (b) the first venture into agriculture by Japanese immigrants in the United States and (c) where the important participation of the pioneers from Japan to California's agriculture had its beginning."



The Gold Trails Union Grammer school, viewed from Okei's grave, will be the site of the dedication of the Historical Landmark Plaque in June of 1969.

Two major events are now being scheduled and planned for 1969 on the theme of the "Centennial Year." There undoubtedly will be announcement of others. Coloma-Lotus Boosters Club sponsors of the annual Gold Discovery Celebration at Coloma Gold Discovery State Park, El Dorado County, has dedicated the 1969 celebration in tribute to the Wakamatsu Colonists of Gold Hill and in honor of all Japanese people of America on the occasion of their one-hundredth anniversary. Coinciding as closely as possible to the day John Marshall discovered gold at Sutter's sawmill, 1969 celebration will take place on Saturday and Sunday, January 25 and 26, with emphasis on the latter. Five Japanese American communities, represented by Stockton, Marysville, Placer County, Florin and Sacramento JACL Chapters, will marshal their talents and resources to

bring a bit of history of the Japanese people of America, their culture and other subjects of interest. The story of the Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Farm Colony and the hopes and tribulations of its people, girl "Okei" and her lonely grave at Gold Hill, other immigrants from Japan to follow, contribution of the Japanese people to California's agriculture and general growth, the other matters representative of the life of the Japanese people will be told by means of displays and exhibits. Other active participations will be bonsai and flower arrangement demonstration and displays, doll displays and accompanying lecture, kendo and judo exhibitions, Japanese cookery, pamphlets on Japanese culture and values, music and dancing.

The deferred dedication of the Historical Landmark Plaque in recognition of the Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Farm Colony of Gold Hill as an important episode in California's early history will take place on a day yet to be announced in June 1969. Other complementary activities and events are being discussed and planned, and Northern California-Western Nevada District Council will oversee the programing and financing in behalf of all sponsors. Gold Trails Grammar School, which is part of what was once the Wakamatsu Colony Farm, has been tentatively approved and selected for the placement of the Historical Monument. Dedication will have civic and religious overtone and may be followed by appropriate social and festival program and activities.

People of Japan, and in particular the City of Aizu Wakamatsu, have long revered the legendary story of the Japanese pioneers of a century ago to Gold Hill, El Dorado County, and are said to be moving ahead with plans to commemorate 1969 as the Centennial Year in honor of the Japanese people of America. A memorial was dedicated in 1957 to the girl "Okei" and others of her Wakamatsu Colony at a site known as "Gold Hill" located on a plateau of the mountain overlooking the City of Aizu Wakamatsu. The monument is a replica of Okei's gravestone at Gold Hill, El Dorado County.

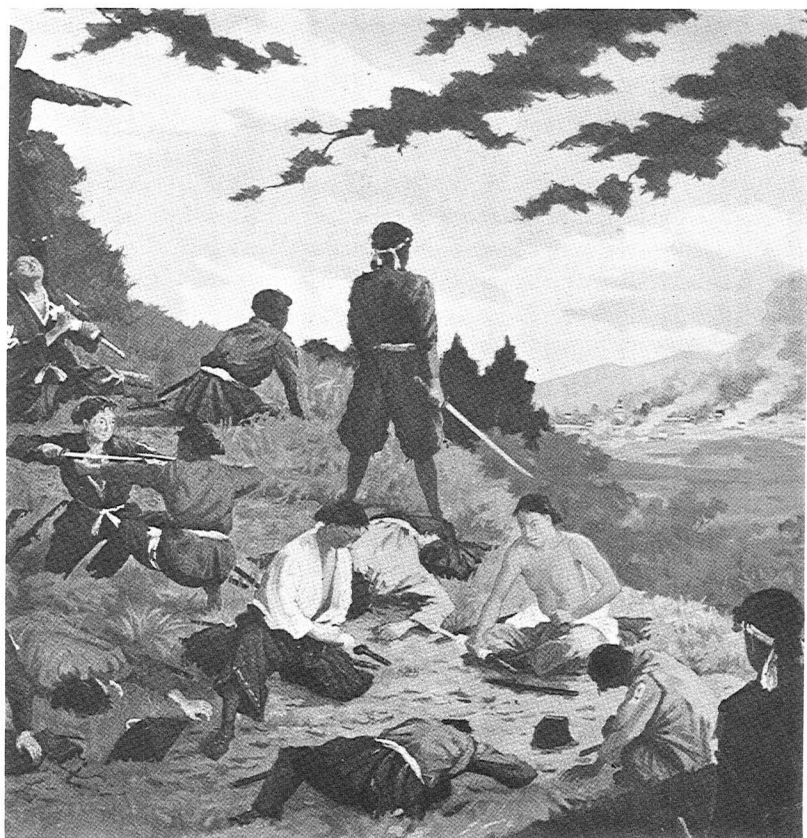
Aizu Wakamatsu is the home of "Byakkotai," the legendary boy warriors of the civil war which spawned the Wakamatsu Colony of Gold Hill, and the girl "Okei" now has been given an immortal place in the hearts of its people. Almost total destruction was inflicted upon the community in the civil war, and, therefore, no source material remained to enable its historians to tell the story



English inscription of Okei's gravestone placed at Okei's grave by Matsuaosuke Sakurai about 10 years later. Fence has been there from the time of its rediscovery in 1924 or 1925.



Replica of Okei's gravestone at Gold Hill of Aizu Wakamatsu, Japan. Dedicated in 1960.



白虎隊自刃の図

この絵は、白虎隊士の武士道の精華を讃え、古代ローマの石柱を海路はるばる送ってくれたローマ市民への答礼として贈呈したものです。

Aizu Wakamatsu is the home of "Byakkotai," the legendary boy warriors of the civil war which spawned the Wakamatsu Colony of Gold Hill, and the girl "Okei" now has been given an immortal place in the hearts of its people.

about the Wakamatsu Colony at a place called Gold Hill in distant America. The history of their own people who ventured forth in 1869 has now been enriched by such records, documents, reprints and other pertinent matters recently contributed by local researchers. History belongs to everyone. Our historians were pleased to share their knowledge with the community of Aizu Wakamatsu.

The history of the Japanese people of America has had its beginning, however humble and of short duration, with the arrival of the Wakamatsu Colonists at Gold Hill in June, 1869. Our heritage goes back to these early pioneers and others who were soon to follow and give so much of themselves to their adopted country. Wise and timely advice has been given by persons in positions of knowledge and authority to the effect that 1969 is about to present a "golden" opportunity of a lifetime, and only fools would permit the year to slip by without doing something both meaningful and deserving. They warn that the next centennial year is a full century away. With a little reminder and ado, every one with a feeling for those people of early California could give remembrance or observance, each in his or her own way, during the same June weekend to be assigned for the Historical Landmark Plaque Dedication at Gold Hill, El Dorado County, California. Thus, by so doing, we shall spiritually help to make the year of 1969 a simple but a memorable Centennial Year in honor of the pioneers of America from Japan of the past one hundred years.

- 1 Bunjiro Takeda, former Sacramentan
Tsuyoshi (Ki) Kimura, author of "Meiji Reconstruction", Tokyo
Soichi Nakatani, Sacramento
Sajima Furukawa, Aizu Wakamatsu
Fern R. Sayre, Sacramento
Henry Taketa, Sacramento
- 2 Coloma-Lotus Boosters Club
El Dorado County Orical Society
John B. Hassler, Coloma
Japanese American Citizens League
Northern California and Western Nevada District
Japanese American Citizens League chapter of Florin, Marysville, Placer
County, Sacramento and Stockton
Soichi Nakatani, Sacramento
George Oki, Sacramento
Fern R. Sayre, Sacramento
Muneichi Yamasaki, Auburn
Henry Taketa, Sacramento

Post Office: Gold Spring

Josephine L. L. L.

Names reported as:

Names reported as:

Page No. 9
 SCHEDULE 1.—Inhabitants in Calaveras Township in the County of Butte
 of California, enumerated by me on the 6 day of July, 1870.
 Post Office: Gold Springs Charles H. Shaw Asst. Marshal

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Name of head of family		Sex and age		Color		Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male or female	Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Estate	Place of Birth, including State or Territory of U. S., or the Country, if of foreign birth	Place of Birth, including State or Territory of U. S., or the Country, if of foreign birth	Place of Birth, including State or Territory of U. S., or the Country, if of foreign birth	Place of Birth, including State or Territory of U. S., or the Country, if of foreign birth	Place of Birth, including State or Territory of U. S., or the Country, if of foreign birth	Place of Birth, including State or Territory of U. S., or the Country, if of foreign birth	Place of Birth, including State or Territory of U. S., or the Country, if of foreign birth	Place of Birth, including State or Territory of U. S., or the Country, if of foreign birth	Place of Birth, including State or Territory of U. S., or the Country, if of foreign birth	Place of Birth, including State or Territory of U. S., or the Country, if of foreign birth	Place of Birth, including State or Territory of U. S., or the Country, if of foreign birth
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
	Nezgers	31	M	Wh	Adm Laborer				Japan	x	/								
	Amann	30	M	Wh	"				"	x	/								
	Leibel	7	F	Wh	"				"	x	/								
	Prohman	24	M	Wh	Free labor				"	x	/								
10	114	Condeker	23	M	Wh	"			"	x	/								
	Enkneyer	22	M	Wh	"				"	x	/								
12	117	Conradson	41	M	Wh	Prokier, genl. Mtl			Pennsylvania										
	Bojardell	23	M	Wh	Ref. H.				Mass.										
	Boz	1	M	Wh	"				Cal.										
13	118	Shaw	26	M	Wh	Prokier, genl. Mtl			Missouri										
	Emily	27	F	Wh	Ref. H.				Mass.										
	Frederic	12	M	Wh	at School				Cal.										
	Eugene	7	M	Wh	"				"										
	Ann	7	F	Wh	"				"										
	Albert	5	M	Wh	"				"										
	Marion	2	F	Wh	"				"										
	Ch. Ryan	27	M	Wh	Laborer				Indiana	x	/								
	Ch. Ryan	6	M	Wh	"				"	x	/								
12	119	Ch. Ryan	47	M	Wh	Miner			"	x	/								
11	120	Schulz	10	M	Wh	Miner			Darmstadt	x	/								
	Maguer	32	M	Wh	Ref. H.				Bavaria	x	/								
	Math. Ann	12	F	Wh	at School				Cal.										
	John	11	M	Wh	"				"										
	Geo. Ann	9	F	Wh	"				"										
	Math. Ann	7	F	Wh	"				"										
	Geo. Ann	5	F	Wh	"				"										
	John	2	M	Wh	"				"										
13	121	W. H. Ann	37	M	Wh	Laborer			North Carolina										
14	122	Kellough	39	M	Wh	Miner			Indiana										
15	123	Pullman	35	M	Wh	"			Pennsylvania										
16	124	W. H. Ann	30	M	Wh	"			"										
	Trigall	30	M	Wh	K. House				Wisconsin										
	Trigall	10	M	Wh	"				Cal.										
	Trigall	10	M	Wh	"				"										

inosuke Masumizu, the three persons already known to the researchers, do not appear on the census roll and, in the light of events which took place subsequently, the only conclusion to be drawn is that they arrived shortly after the census month of June 1870. It is also interesting to note that the census reveals the birth of Frances and Mary, infant daughters of Mr. Schnell and his Japanese wife, as having taken place in California. American birth of Frances appears to be somewhat questionable but that of



Henry Taketa and his wife, Sally, planning the celebration in Coloma, California.

AUTHOR'S NOTE:

Although the Wakamatsu Colony and its colonists were the principals in this episode of California's Early West, others were to have vital roles as their neighbors, friends and benefactors and in conserving and perpetuating their history over the last one hundred years. Without these people, the story of the early Japanese settlers could have become forgotten as being just another of many events or incidents of very little significance. However, because the connecting links were provided by them, we are now able to tell the story of the Wakamatsu colonists as to how it happened and when it happened.

Mr. and Mrs. Francis Veerkamp, neighbors to the colony, befriended and gave employment to Okei and Matsu, the only two who stayed behind at Gold Hill after its abandonment, and provided for the burial of the young Japanese girl on a knoll of a hill which was a part of the colony farm. Matsu continued to reside with the pioneer Veerkamps and their descendants until his death in 1901, and the latter arranged his final resting place at Coloma's Vineyard Cemetery. It is said that Mr. and Mrs. Veerkamp had given permission for the burial of an infant child of a Japanese couple, who were returning to Japan, next to Okei. It fell upon Henry Veerkamp, the eldest son, to reveal and tell the story of the colony, its people and the Japanese girl he remembered as "Okei-San" after a lapse of more than fifty years.

With its rediscovery, Okei's grave has become a spiritual memorial to the early pioneers from Japan with their hopes, determination, industry, patience, suffering and frequent tragedies. For more than forty years, first with Henry Veerkamp and more recently with Malcolm L. Veerkamp, uncounted thousands of Japanese people from near and far places have been privileged to make pilgrimage to Okei's grave. Other Veerkamp descendants have shown utmost understanding of the impact which the episode of the Wakamatsu Colony has had on the Japanese people here and abroad. In their own quiet and dignified ways, the Veerkamps of the past were, and those of the present are also, a part of the people and events which have given to us the story of the Japanese pioneers of early California.

As the year of 1969 approaches and with it the Centennial Year for the Japanese people of America, I dedicate my brief article in recognition of the latent but kindly participation by the pioneer Veerkamps and many of their descendants in the history of the Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Farm Colony of Gold Hill of a century ago and the courtesies of many years which they have extended to the Japanese people for visitation and pilgrimage to Okei's grave.

Henry Taketa

The Japanese Cultural And Trade Center

San Francisco

There is something new and exciting to see in San Francisco. It is the Japanese Cultural and Trade Center; its formal dedication was in March, 1968.

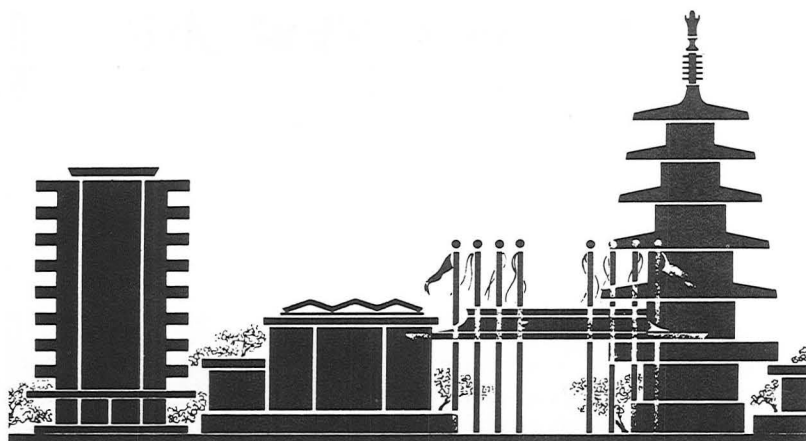
The new center, which cost about \$15,000,000, has many purposes. It will be the center for the Japanese-American community, which has long had important cultural influence upon Northern California. The Center will provide a nucleus for Japanese-American cultural activities, and at the same time will house Japanese diplomatic and commercial organizations. Finally, it is a charming way to introduce to Americans visiting the Center many aspects of Japan and Japanese life.

The architecture of the center, by Minoru Yamasaki in association with Van Bourg, Nakamura and Associates, is a graceful modern design. The buildings of the complex are white, and are all surrounded by traditional Japanese landscaping. Quiet gardens with placid pools and small, delicate plants are located in or near several buildings in the center. One garden, which has a large pool with beautiful rare fish, was shipped, plants, rocks and soil, from Japan, to be assembled and arranged in San Francisco.

The complex occupies three blocks from east to west between Post and Geary Streets. The easternmost building is the Consulate General Building. Located next to the Consulate Building is the Miyako Hotel, which has several luxury suites decorated in authentic Japanese style.

The three commercial buildings in the Center are the East Building, the West Building and the Kintetsu Building. These buildings provide a showplace for many Japanese products, and also an opportunity for visitors to the center to purchase such hand-made Japanese items as brush paintings, pottery, woodcuts, etc. Located in these buildings also are art galleries, a florist, jewelers, and the Ikenobo Institute of flower arrangement. The Suehiro Restaurant, featuring many Japanese delicacies, is located in the Kintetsu Building.

The Theatre Restaurant Building, which is being constructed at



Japanese Cultural and Trade Center, 1600 Post Street, San Francisco, California, by courtesy of the Kintetsu Enterprise Co. of America.

the west end of the complex, will be completed soon, and will boast one of the finest technical facilities in America. It will be possible to simulate waterfalls, floods and fires onstage. Some of the events planned for the theatre restaurant are Kabuki, Japanese stage revues, and international musicals.

The central and most dramatic structure of the Cultural Center is the Peace Pagoda. Its round shape, made up of twelve circular pillars supporting five roofs, was inspired by the pagodas built 1200 years ago by Empress Koken and dedicated to eternal peace. The Peace Pagoda is a symbol of good will between the United States and Japan.

The Pagoda is located in the 30,000 square foot Peace Plaza. It is also landscaped with Japanese gardens and pools. The entrance to the Peace Plaza is flanked by twelve flagpoles located in front of a rectangular reflecting pool.

The atmosphere of the Japanese Cultural and Trade Center is foreign, but friendly. The visitor is welcomed and treated with typical Japanese warmth and courtesy no matter which area of the Center he chooses to visit. Everywhere is felt the good will which successfully completes the purpose of cultural and commercial cooperation between two great nations.

TRISHA BANTLY

Our Writers

DR. RICHARD W. VAN ALSTYNE

Dr. Richard W. Van Alstyne, currently Distinguished Professor of History at Callison College, has been teaching history since 1928 and has been at UOP since the fall of 1967. Dr. Van Alstyne was an Officier d'Academie in 1938; Commonwealth Fund Lecturer at the University of London in 1956. Dr. Van Alstyne was a Fulbright senior fellow and honorary research associate at the University of London 1960-1961 and has been a permanent member of THE ATHENAEUM, London, since 1960. He served as past president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association and is a Fellow of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. Author of many books and articles, he is now nearing completion of *THE RISE OF AN AMERICAN IDEOLOGY* (to be published by Ginn-Blaisdell Publishing Company in 1970).

JEAN L. ROSSI

Miss Rossi's interest in California history is quite natural as her family for four generations has been very closely associated with the State's history.

Her great-great grandparents and great-grandmother were members of the famous Donner Party and in '46 settled in Sonoma where they were intimate friends of General Vallejo and his family and present in Sonoma at the time of the Bear Flag Revolt. At the turn of the century, during the reclamation period, her grandfather farmed large acreages on the San Joaquin-Sacramento Delta, and her mother was born in California's most colorful city, San Francisco.

Miss Rossi is well known for her outstanding illustrated historical lectures and photography. She has lectured before historical groups and students, and at museums and universities. She also has appeared on television and written articles for both magazines and newspapers on her various subjects.

PATRICIA BANTLY

Patricia Bantly was born in Denver, Colorado, and loves the whole state. She likes to travel, and spent a year in Mexico City in 1964, where she lived with a Mexican family. Her real interest in Western History began in high school where an outstanding teacher made the United States past live for her. Her enthusiasm for work in THE PACIFIC CENTER FOR WESTERN HISTORICAL STUDIES has lead to her writing in this field and her work in the language lab under Yusuke Kawarabayashi has stimulated her interest in Japanese culture.

MR. YUSUKE KAWARABAYASHI

Mr. Yusuke Kawarabayashi was born in Kyoto, Japan. After completing his studies in English at Doshisha University, he came to California in 1961 and received his degree in Spanish from the University of California. He also received his Master's Degree in Spanish from the University of Kansas. He is the Director of the language laboratory of the University of the Pacific in Stockton, where he teaches Japanese and Spanish. He has been very active in civic and service organizations as well as in academic organizations wherever he has found himself.

JOHN W. CONNOR

"I was born in Butler, Pennsylvania on May 24, 1930. I received my B.A. and M.A. from Sacramento State College where I am currently teaching as an assistant professor of anthropology while completing work toward the doctorate in anthropology at the University of California at Davis.

In addition to teaching anthropology, I have taught a variety of subjects in high school, junior college, and adult education classes. During a rather diversified career I have also been employed as a jack-hammer operator, butcher's apprentice (I almost became a vegetarian), high pressure steel boiler operator, safety director, fire marshal, administrative assistant, engineering aid, and assistant purchasing agent — I even once tried to sell encyclopedias.

Five of my most exuberant years were spent in Japan where I acquired what appears to be a lifetime interest in all things Japanese. If my luck holds and a grant comes through, I expect to return to Japan in a few years to do field work. If not, there are a number of research possibilities in the many ethnic communities in northern California."

DOROTHY TYE

Although not a recent contributor, Dorothy Tye is by no means a stranger to this magazine. ("Stockton's First Lady," August 1958: "A Contemporary Biography," February 1963.) A member of the California History Foundation, she became a charter member of the Jedediah Smith Society and served as its first and only woman president in 1962. In 1967 she received the society's highest honor, the "Eager Beaver Award."

Fascinated by the history of all ages, and by modern man's relationship to both past and future, she

found in the study of astronomy an intellectual doorway to viewing and comprehending both. Since astronomy is man's first science and dates from earliest records, she describes its history as being "vitality brought to life by today's space-age marvels and tomorrow's expectations."

"Any layman," she says, "can grasp enough of astronomy's many scientific phases to obtain a truly thrilling, more comprehensive conception of life and the world in which we live."

In 1968 while holding office as the Stockton Astronomical Society's first woman president, and while also editing the society's newsletter, she researched the history of Volcano's Observatory Hill which has long been the site of summer "star parties." Her article briefly relates bits of that colorful history.

MICHAEL H. MARLEAU

Mr. Marleau's interest in Alpine County has come about out of pure curiosity. On a camping trip a few years ago he became interested in the local history, but he found out that little had been done in researching and writing about it. He decided if he wanted to know more about the country's history he would have to research it and write it himself.

Born in Ohio, Mr. Marleau moved to California in 1962 with his parents, and he is currently attending San Joaquin Delta College. He hopes to make some phase of historical studies his life's work.

RICHARD H. REYNOLDS

Professor Reynolds holds degrees from San Bernardino Valley College, the University of California at Berkeley, and the University of the Pacific. He has done graduate study at Mills College, U.C.L.A., Rudolph Schaefer School of Design, and Oregon State University. Chairman of the Department of Art at Pacific

since 1948, Professor Reynolds has also been an exhibiting painter and sculptor with many awards and commissions to his credit. He has appeared on television under auspices of the university; was, in fact, the first faculty member to be featured on television. His show on sculpture was favorably reviewed in Bay Area newspapers. A writer, in addition to his other interests, Professor Reynolds has had articles in the *Pacific Review*, *Arts and Architecture*, *The Art Journal* (College Art Association of America), *The Signet* (Phi Sigma Kappa), and, most recently, the *American Artist*—"most widely read art publication in the world." Professor Reynolds belongs to many professional and honor societies, among them the College Art Association of America, Pacific Arts Association, National Art Education Association, American Association of University Professors, Phi Kappa Phi, Delta Epsilon, Phi Delta Kappa, San Francisco Art Institute, Stockton Art League, and is a Life Fellow of the International Institute of Arts and Letters. His biographical listing appear in *Who's Who In American Art*, *Who's Who in American Education*, *Who's Who in the West*, *Directory of International Biography*, and the California State Library's listing of the state's leading artists. Along with Dr. Maury Goldschmidt of Reed College, Professor Reynolds was a guest lecturer at the first Liberal Arts Institute held by Alaska Methodist University in Anchorage for the between-terms week during January, 1962.

R. TOD RUSE

A fifth generation Californian and a resident of Stockton for 27 years, R. Tod Ruse was born in San Francisco in 1942 and is presently an assistant instructor of history and political science at San Joaquin Delta

College. He is an enthusiastic history buff, taking graduate courses in California History at University of the Pacific and serving as Recorder of Marks and Brands of the Stockton Corral of Westerners. His interest in history was whetted early in his life, and for fifteen years he has been a collector of Western Americana, Colt firearms and other firearms with a California history or background. In October of 1968, Tod was the UOP representative at the Western History Association Convention in Tucson, Arizona, along with Dr. R. Coke Wood and Mr. Hugh Hayes. He listed among the highlights of that convention a tour through the Mission San Xavier del Bac, an address by Senator Barry Goldwater at the WHA dinner, and stated, "The best part of the WHA convention is the fact that one becomes aware of all the latest developments in Western History and at the same time one can meet many of the outstanding historians of our time."

JAMES R. GIBSON

"Regarding myself, I received my B.A. from the University of British Columbia in 1957, my M.A. from the University of Oregon in 1959, and my Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin in 1967. My dissertation, which concerns the food supply problem of the Russian Far East from 1639 until 1856, has been accepted for publication by the University of Wisconsin Press. I spent the 1964-1965 academic year as an exchange student at Moscow State University, where I did archival and library research on my dissertation for nine months. At present I am an Assistant Professor of Geography at York University. My special research interest is the Historical Geography of Siberia and Russian America."

A Lodestone In Time

by DOROTHY TYE

OCTOBER 1862

As the wagons began to ascend another harrowing grade, the boy walked anxiously close to his family's laboring oxen. He was half sick with fear his secret would be discovered.

The worn wheels creaked dangerously and the cattle were growing increasingly weak. Although the road from Carson Valley was only two years old and reasonably free of boulders, too frequently an oxen sank to its knees never to rise again. That meant another grim redistribution of freight. Many of the train's 100 wagons were now part of the debris scattered along the trail, and with summer past, everyone's nerves were frayed by the desperate need to reach Volcano before snow fell. But George thought it unreasonable his books and maps should be considered expendable weight.

Several times in an agony of apprehension he'd had to run back down the trail after dark until, sweating and exhausted, he stumbled over boxes and barrels, and with trembling hands recovered his little hoard of valuables. Each time he was able to sneak into camp before daybreak and hide them among the few possessions his father and his brothers, Daniel and Frank, had left.

His resentment was sharpened by grief. Wasn't it enough that his mother had died and her body lay buried in an unnamed prairie this side of Kansas? Unless he took his sky charts, maps, and books to California he'd be unable to study the subject that interested him more than any other. His father, a Portuguese-American attorney, understood, but he was obligated to make room for other people's vital necessities. Now, praying the team would hold out, George determined to lighten the load by walking the rest of the way.

"That kid's daft," he'd overheard someone say the last time his books had been thrown out. "As if there ain't enough right down here to keep anybody's mind busy, without always looking at the stars."

"You're right. Once you see'em and know they're there, what do they matter? They can't protect you from Indians or feed you and your cattle."

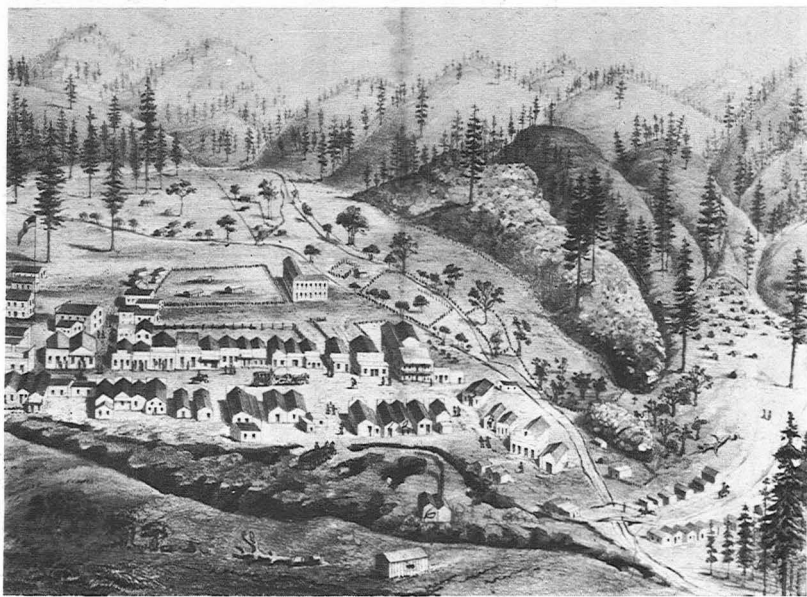


George Madeira, who arrived in Volcano, California, in 1852

“Better that kid spent more time reading the Good Book. He ain’t gonna amount to a row of beans, head’s so full ’a nonsense. Always looking at the sky at night, and in the daytime picking up rocks and sand!”

To George the months of hardship and grief since they’d left Hagerstown, Maryland, had been brightened by the thrill of discovery. From early May, when the wagon train made its final plunge into the wilderness from Independence, Missouri until now, five months later, he had applied the information in his books and charts to practical understanding.

While knowledge of geology made everyday observations along the trail both interesting and surprising, it was the incomprehensible vastness of the heavens, visible only at night, that extended his sense of wonder to the whole of the natural universe. At 15 he was old enough to serve on the night watch, and this had enabled him to observe the sky through spring, summer, and now into early fall. He had carefully charted the monthly and seasonal changes of the sun and moon, and had recorded this year’s wandering of the planets against the unchanging march of the constellations. And there was always the thrilling possibility he might discover a comet, that rare, spectacular sight seldom visible to the naked eye and once regarded as an omen of disaster foretelling the



Volcano, California, 1854, photo courtesy Condon Collection.



Volcano today, photo courtesy of Condon Collection.

overthrow of kings and nations. Had not a bushy-tailed comet foretold the death of Caesar? The very word "comet" came from the Greek *kometes*, "the long-haired one."

He was fascinated by the history of Halley's Comet, which spent nearly half of its 76 year period making the cold, dark outer loop beyond the orbit of Neptune. First recorded in 240 B.C., it had witnessed the defeat of Attila's Huns in A.D. 451; it had viewed the Norman Conquest in 1066; in 1456, its menacing appearance had so alarmed Pope Calixtus he decreed several days of prayer and established the midday angelus, and with a great clanging of bells he then besought the comet to visit its wrath solely on the invading Turks. Shakespeare had watched it in 1607, and Captain John Smith and Pocahontas on the frontier of Jamestown. In 1682 Halley recorded his observation. It would be seen again in 1835, 1910, 1986, and 2062.

George had also read with great interest the record of Jean Louis Pons, a 17th century amateur astronomer who discovered 37 comets, five of them between February and September of 1808. A lowly doorman at the Marseilles Observatory, Pons built his own small telescopes and ground his own lenses. He became so famous

among the observatory astronomers he was given the status of an assistant astronomer. In 1819, Queen Maria Louisa of Bourbon made him director of her new observatory at Tuscany. George could think of no better way to achieve fame.

Exactly what comets are, aside from dust particles and gas, still remained a matter of scientific speculation. Thinking about such problems during the long quiet hours of guard duty stimulated George's curiosity with unanswerable questions. With so much to learn about the universe, he couldn't do without his books, but as he observed his father's sober watchfulness over the team's progress, he knew that if one of the cattle stumbled or faltered every book, as well as the surveyor's compass Daniel treasured, would be thrown out.

His father's temper was growing shorter every day, anyway. There was little left of the contagious excitement George Madeira, Sr. had brought back from his last journey to the Far West. On his first trip he had accompanied Captain John Sutter as a lieutenant in the campaign supporting Mexico at the founding of the Bear Flag Republic, and from the last he carried home the title of Colonel. Impatient to take his family back with him, he fired their enthusiasm with colorful descriptions of Volcano, the first mining town one came to after crossing the Sierra Nevada. He described it as a small, flat plain with tall grass and large oak trees surrounded by pine-covered hills with springs of pure cold water. For untold ages Indians (Miwok) had lived there in tranquility gathering acorns and pine nuts, and capturing deer and other game.

Captain Sutter had been the first white man in the area. Then in January of 1848, a group of soldiers from Colonel Jonathan Stevenson's New York 7th Regiment, Mexican War Volunteers, camped there. They had guns and ammunition but little money, and had to hunt and fish for food. When a trapper brought news of Marshall's find in the tailrace of Sutter's mill, most of them rushed away. A few returned and the settlement was called Soldier's Gulch. Captain Sutter returned again that year but didn't stay long enough to find gold. Those who did stay had no knowledge of how severe the winter would be and the following spring they were found dead of starvation with cans of gold dust and nuggets scattered around their cave.

The hills were found to be filled with gold. One claim, eight feet beneath the reddish clay surface, had gravel so rich gold nuggets could be picked out by hand. One was worth over \$900.

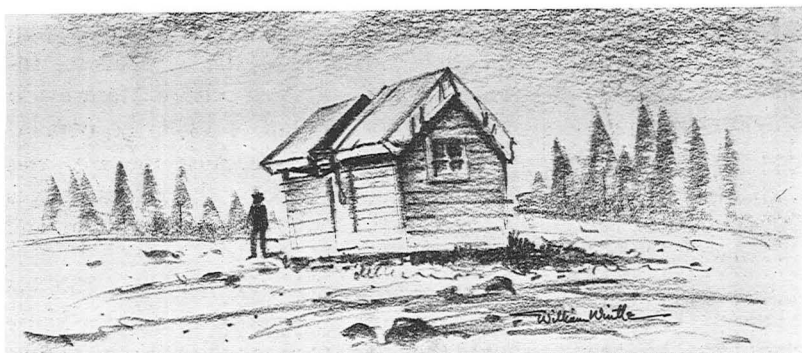
Some gravel paid as high as \$500 a pan. Men began to arrive from everywhere: Europeans, South Americans, Mexicans, Chinese, Indians, representing all degrees of education and culture. Many made \$1,000 a day, few less than \$100. By late fall of 1849, the population had grown to 150 (only one woman). Because the area was such a deep, bowl-like valley with lava rock on the ridges, it was thought to be the crater of an extinct fire-spitting mountain and was named Volcano.

In a fantastically rich ravine called Clapboard Gulch, Colonel Madeira staked out a claim. Above it he planned to build a house that would equal any of the mansions already lining wide, picturesque streets. Many houses and business buildings were being constructed, and with the establishment of fine homes the social and cultural level of the community would rise. "You wouldn't believe the number of brilliantly educated, highly intellectual men — physicians, lawyers, scientists — who are working as miners," he said. "They crowd the assay office carrying fortunes in gold. Volcano is going to be the finest place in the world to live. We have everything there — brains, wealth, independence."

And in the East people by the hundreds, hearing reports of the gold, were impatiently waiting for wagon trains to take them across the plains. But the trip was hardly worth it, George thought as his legs began to drag. His feet felt like aching teeth. Although not yet over the incline, the oxen were panting. He hoped they would soon be able to stop for a rest.

His mother's grave was not the only one they'd left in the wilderness, and many of the party were sick. Others, having lost their cattle, had been forced to abandon their wagons and earthly possessions. But everyone's eyes still glowed eagerly at the mention of gold. Even though they knew nothing of mining, they expected to become rich overnight. George was amazed at how little interest they took in the simplest scientific knowledge about the earth upon which they lived, or even about the gold they expected to dig: how it resulted from underground erosion that had formed deep crevices and pockets that became filled with placer gold.

The average person's knowledge of the outer universe was even scantier. Few guessed the broadening effect astronomy had on one's conception of life. For one thing its history traced man's intellectual development from records beginning back in the dim days of Greece. Thales of Mileus, 624 B.C., had said the earth was "swinging free, held in place by nothing," and in 530 B.C., Pythagoras of Samos taught a law of divine order expressed in universal harmony called "the music of the spheres." In the fourth century B.C., the



*Artist's drawing of Observatory near Volcano built 1860 as described by
by George Madeira*

daring visionary Heraclides of Pontos expressed the rash idea that "the earth circles around the sun." The great Aristachos of Samos held in addition that the earth also "swings daily on its own axis." Then in 180 A.D., Ptolemy of Alexandria presented his epicycle.

For centuries after that western man believed the earth was fixed in the middle of creation with little stars swinging around it until in 1546, the German, Copernicus, revived the old Greek and Babylonian idea that the earth rotates on its axis. He wisely kept his calculations hidden until he was on his deathbed. But the Italian, Giordano Bruno, was burned at the stake in 1600 for openly insisting the theory correct, and Galileo Galilei was forced to recant the same theory in 1633 to escape an identical death. The "music of the spheres" theory was revived with mathematical "proof" by the German, Johannes Kepler, who discovered the laws of orbital motion in 1610 and paved the way for Sir Isaac Newton's theory of gravity almost a century later.

Mankind's refusal to accept new discoveries with an open mind was inconceivable to George. He understood that science was a weapon for demolishing ignorance and superstition, and that invention of calculus and the telescope had extended man's eyes to a range beyond the solar system. As much as he wanted to discover a comet, he desired still more to comprehend the nature of this universe in which the earth was only a dot compared to the sun, and the sun was but one small glowing ball amidst billions.

JULY 1887

Coming by horseback up the rocky trail above Volcano, George recalled that long, painful walk all the way from the sink of the Humboldt to Volcano. He knew it had been his devotion to learning, and his love of scientific investigation that had made it possible to bring into California by overland route the first astronomical

books and charts. And to lecture throughout the state on astronomy when only 23! And the following year to actually discover a comet!

He still had those books, and in all modesty he could admit that between his 15th and 60th years during which he married Louise Mitchell of Galt and fathered eight children (Louise at nine had come west in the same wagon train and they were married in Volcano), he had achieved wide success as a mining engineer, geologist, historian, and philosopher, as well as amateur astronomer. He had obtained material for articles on geology and minerology by traveling back across the plains several times, and he hoped to visit every mine in the United States.

Today he had come to see what was left of his little astronomical observatory. After 26 years the tiny canvas-roofed building in the weedy cow pasture was little more than a pile of rocks. But here on the hilltop some 2,200 feet or better above sea level, one still had a superbly clear, unbroken view of the horizon in all directions.

Mrs. Sarah C. Ferry, who had arrived in Volcano the same year as he, had given him permission to use her property, and he had been accustomed to climbing swiftly the steep grade from his home in Clapboard Gulch. After building the observatory he and Professor Telerand, his instructor and a thorough mathematician, had operated it day and night for two years. And as far as he had ever been able to learn, it was the first amateur astronomical observatory of record in the state. They'd used a three-inch refractor telescope supplied with equatorial mounting and delicate clock-work motion made by Tebours and Secretan of Paris, France. Its highest power was only 125 times, but through it he had discovered the Great Comet of 1861.

Madison 1910
Hec Calsburg Apr. 26th.
Prof Campbell,
Director Lick Observa-
tory, Calif.
So Sir; you could find
account of passing

Through the tail of a
comet which may
not be unintentional
and is certainly a
true statement of
The Phenomenon.
Yours Respectfully
George Madeline.

That day, June 30, was his most memorable. After observing large spots on the sun until an hour before sunset, he suddenly saw so amazing a sight he ran all the way to Telerand's home shouting, "I've discovered a huge comet!" They soon had the telescope turned on what looked like a large comma but in a state of violent ebullition and with a bright central nucleus. When the sun went down the comet's luminous trail stretched backwards across the heavens in a blaze of glory. "Now," Telerand exclaimed, "we're passing through its tail!" After that there was a peculiar phosphorescence or illumination above the horizon.

During the rest of the night they observed only a few small meteors. On the succeeding night the golden halo was still quite perceptible, which meant the earth had been in the line of the comet's tail for 24 hours. Later they learned it is a comet of long period, performing its revolution about the sun in about 422 years. They also learned it had been observed throughout Europe on the same date and that the old superstitions concerning comets were still believed. In Italy it was reported as a sign Francis II would be restored to the throne of the Two Sicilies, and that it presaged the death of Pope Pious IX. Some called it the first Civil War Comet believing it heralded American Civil War. Still later they learned it had been seen in the Southern Hemisphere as early as May 13 by an amateur astronomer, J. Tebbutt of New South Wales. Although the first person to register a comet is given official recognition, that didn't minimize the importance of its discovery from this continent.

Another outstanding memory of those early years involved a lecture he had given on astronomy in 1860, in San Jose. A member of the audience who introduced himself was James Lick, a man who had made millions during '49 in San Francisco real estate. Lick was fascinated by the fact the telescope had provided Galileo with observational proof the earth wasn't the center of the universe as well as providing the critical tests of Newton's law of motion. He invited George to spend several days at his ranch, a few miles from San Jose near the Guadalupe River. Looking through George's 'scope with great excitement, he said it was the first time he had viewed the limitless regions of space.

They met again in San Francisco in 1873, and discussed at length the possibilities of large instruments. If I had your wealth, Mr. Lick, "George suggested, "I'd construct the largest telescope possible."

Lick died three years later, and although he had the reputation of being a miser, he left \$700,000 for the construction of an ob-

servatory and a telescope "superior to and more powerful than any ever yet made." After considering a number of sites, he chose Mt. Hamilton as most suitable. Construction of the observatory had advanced sufficiently by January of this year to permit burial of Lick's body in a tomb made in the pier of the great telescope. The observatory would be completed early in 1888 and George planned to file a record there of his observatory and discovery.

Looking back across that span of almost three decades, George saw in his own life, as well as in Volcano's feverish, treasure-hunt years, a fictional quality. The lively metropolis in the little three-mile-wide valley to which he had walked in '52, had a population close to 6,000 by the end of '57. Men crowded its 35 saloons to gamble their fortunes away at the Monte games, and whooped it up in the two dancehalls at 50 cents "a round." There were 12 restaurants, 17 hotels, 3 breweries, 4 bakeries, 10 doctors and dentists, 16 lawyers. There was daily mail service to and from Sacramento, and he was the town's first postmaster. Despite a generous number of illerates and outlaws, there were enough highly-educated men to form the first cultural center in the state. Even before he arrived they'd established the first public library. Volcano could also claim the first literary and debating society, "little theatre" movement and, of course, the first amateur observatory.

Today as he passed through town he saw little to remind him of those prosperous times. He realized tragedy had made its first appearance the year following his arrival. But who could have foreseen the extent of the change that finally forced him and almost everyone else to leave?

The same volcanic violence believed by man to have formed the golden hills was also in the spirit of the town's death — in the destructive force which turned the grassy plains into stagnant mud-holes, filled the canyons with unsightly piles of rock, denuded the hills of trees, left them furrowed with deep gullies, and choked the clear creek water with mud, sand, and gravel. It was a master craftsman that came to rob the pans and shovels of men. Corporation operated, it was called hydraulic mining. With mechanical ruthlessness it "sluiced out" gold by jets of water. It moved tons of earth and tore down entire hillsides. Ranches were buried beneath sliding soil. The beautiful valley was rapidly turned into mounds of bare dirt and piles of slickens. By the end of the Civil War a severe depression had settled over the town. Then came destruction by fire. The few remaining buildings were soon deserted to the general ruin of an era ended forever.

Still, even today, George saw a haunting resemblance to the

town he had watched grow. A few original buildings had been preserved. They stood as ghostly symbols of an era too vital to die completely. He didn't think any of it too important. Volcano was only a town, and towns are easily built by men. Man's need was to build things reachable out of things unreachable — the challenge was not in the dusty ruins of a Mother Lode treasure, but in globes of fire and clouds of spinning gas, in time, space, and their relation.

FEBRUARY 15, 1969

It is the danger and violence traditionally basic to the plotting of fiction that keep memories of the West alive. Records of intellectual accomplishments are as hazy as the autumn landscape. For that reason George Madeira's story has had no place in popular history. Yet events more fantastic than the fiction of any era have drawn his name from the dim records of a ghost town's past. The explosive developments of the space age which have fired imaginations and awakened interest in the stars and celestial mysteries have drawn many people to the site of his observatory, now named Observatory Hill. Amateur astronomers frequently assemble there with telescopic gear and photographic paraphernalia that would astound him.

In November of 1968, solid 3½ ton rock indigenous of the area was placed as a monument just below the knoll. A few day later people from the astronomical, historical, and academic world gathered there to honor him. If George, who lived to be 86, could have been present, he would have seen how early fall rains had turned the pasture land green. He would have seen that time had once again richly covered the little valley below with trees that were now ablaze with autumn colors. On his way up the hill beneath a brooding sky that cleared miraculously for the occasion, he would have passed through Volcano, and he would have seen the same buildings embalmed in an aura of deathlessness.

Among the hundred or more people he would have seen his youngest grandson Jess Madeira (one of two still living) who journeyed from Santa Rosa. (After leaving Volcano, George settled in Healdsburg.) He would have heard Dr. Robert P. Kraft, acting director of Lick Observatory, credit him with having influenced James Lick to bequeath the money that built the famous observatory on Mt. Hamilton.

A flag draping the monument was removed by Mrs. Alberta Hale, owner of the property and granddaughter of Mrs. Ferry. She was assisted by Mrs. Jack (Muriel) Thebaut, a twenty year resident of Volcano whose conscientious research helped ascertain



Dorothy Tye, president of the Stockton Astronomical Society; Alberta Hole, owner of the land; Muriel Thebaut, project chairman for the Society and Dr. R. Coke Wood, State Historical Landmarks Committeeman.

the site of the observatory and uncovered many facts of George's life; it was also through her efforts that the unique monument was obtained and hauled to the site.

Even in this sophisticated era those present were moved with respect for a man who lived when times were rugged and intellectual opportunities few, yet who distinguished himself throughout the state and left to amateur astronomers a lodestone of inspiration. The bronze plaque imbedded in the monument presents this legend for posterity:

ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATORY

On the knoll behind this marker George Madeira built the first amateur astronomical observatory of record in California and there discovered the Great Comet of 1861 with a three-inch refractor telescope.

California Registered Historical Landmark No. 715

Plaque placed by the State Department of Parks and Recreation in cooperation with the Stockton and Sacramento Astronomical Societies
November 17, 1968

Mining in The Sky

MICHAEL H. MARLEAU

The early California miners were so absorbed in gathering and searching for gold they paid no attention whatever to silver during the first decade of the mining era. Not until the discovery of the Comstock Lode, sometimes referred to as 'Washoe', with its promise of silver, was the attention of California mining directed to the business of prospecting and mining for that metal. After the occurrence of that event most of the explorations carried on, and the mining operations engaged in, were for several years (at first) conducted outside the limits of California.

Not until the summer of 1861 did the Nevada prospectors, working south from the Comstock Lode, make their way over the line into California.¹ The country first prospected by them consisted of the territory now within the boundaries of Alpine County, which was created in 1864, by an act of the state legislature. The story of these miners and their quest for silver and the events leading to the creation of Alpine County is an interesting one.

There was a rumor in 'Washoe' of a silver bearing range lying along the western rim of the Utah basin.² It was only a rumor, but to a group of sixteen prospectors, many of them Norwegians, it was a search.³ From their camp along the East Carson River, they could see off in the distance the Sierra Nevada Mountains of California. One of the peaks they could see contained massive outcroppings of possible silver.⁴ Could this be the celebrated Mountain Lode? All of this was in the fall of 1860, and a search in that area would have to be made the next spring as snow was already falling in the mountains. The next spring, in 1861, they set out on their search. They traveled up the Carson River until they came to a small valley at the base of the mountain seen the previous fall. From here croppings could plainly be seen. This truly was the Mountain Lode.

1 Henry G. Hanks, *Fourth Annual Report of the State Mineralogist*, p. 361.

2 Henry Degroot, *Sketches of the Washoe Silver Mines*, p. 21.

3 The names of three of these men have been found. They are John Johnson, a man named Perry, and another named Harris. *Monitor Gazette*, Jan. 14, 1865.

4 *Ibid.*



Silver Mountain City, 1867, original taken by A. J. Smith.

The men were called together for a meeting, the Silver Mountain Mining District was laid out, and the first locations were made in June, 1861.⁵ These locations were the Mountain No. 1 and the Silver Creek.⁶ Soon others were made along the same ledge.⁷

The miners then made a small camp which they called Kongsburg, named after a city in their native Norway, famous for its silver mine, the most celebrated in Europe.⁸ A few log cabins, tents, canvas over a hole dug in the ground, and whatever else could be made out of brush and bark made up their camp.

In the fall of 1861, a few of the original miners left for the winter, and the rest stayed to work out on their claims. Those who left came out of the Sierra with the news of the discoveries on the mountain which became known as Silver Mountain.⁹ With the help of a leading mining publications the news spread.¹⁰

The Silver Mountain District during the first season was subdivided into two new mining districts. They were the Monitor and Alpine Mining Districts. Both were within five miles of Kongsburg.¹¹

By the spring of 1862, there were many anxious miners and

5 *Monitor Gazette*, loc. cit.

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Ibid.*

8 R. Coke Wood, *Big-Tree Carson Valley Turnpike, Ebbetts Pass and Highway Four*, p. 53, also *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 16, 1867.

9 These discoveries were sometimes referred to as the Kongsburg silver mines, see *Mining and Scientific Press*, Sept. 11, 1862.

10 *Mining and Scientific Press*, Dec. 21, 1861.

11 First Lieut. George Wheeler, *Geographic Surveys of the Territory of the United States West of the 100th Meridian*, Appendix NN, pp. 85, 87.

prospectors eager to try their luck in the new mines. The only way to get there was to go over the high passes of the Sierra since the mines were located near the summit. Men coming from the west had the choice of the Carson, Western, Degroots, and Ebbetts Pass, all of them rugged trails.¹² Those coming from Utah Territory, which was soon to become Nevada Territory, could come up either fork of the Carson River.

The year 1862 brought a number of new miners to the area, but this was still less than a thousand. Kongsburg soon became known as Silver Mountain City, and this small camp was getting larger. This area not only attracted miners, but it also brought ranchers into the small valleys among the mountains. Here they grew vegetables that found a ready market with the miners.¹³

By the next year, six more districts were laid out making a total of nine. Each of these had its own small camp to support a population. Camps like Highland City and Summit City sprang up in the wilderness. Though they were far from resembling cities, the miners had hope of them someday rivaling their counterparts on the Comstock, and therefore called them such.

In 1863, miners poured into the area, and here in these mountains was a second Comstock. The population rose into the thousands and many believed that they needed some form of government better than the laws of each mining district. So petitions were drawn up for the creation of a county to be called Silver County.¹⁴

In August, 1863, the State Geologist, Josiah Whitney, and his Geological Survey party came to Silver Mountain City to study the mines and surrounding area. They found Silver Mountain a place of busy, active men, scampering like a nest of disturbed ants.¹⁵

Town lots were up for sale. Fifty foot frontage, covered with boulders and sagebrush, sold for \$1,000!¹⁶ Land grabbers and speculators had monopolized nearly all the town lots. Some of the land grabbers took it into their heads to 'jump' a block of land the town inhabitants had set aside for use of a public school. A public meeting was called to take action to prevent their holding it. Speeches were made, spirits were raised, and the people went en masse, tore up the posts the jumpers had put up, and a good three rail fence was built all around the block. Then it was cleared

12 Henry Degroot, *Map of Nevada Territory and Eastern California*, 1863.

13 *Sacramento Daily Union*, Aug. 13, 1863.

14 Wood, *loc. cit.*

15 William H. Brewer, *Up and Down California in 1860-1864*, p. 432.

16 *Sacramento Daily Union*, *loc. cit.*

of all brush and stumps. The people then resolved to hold the place peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must, and to erect a school house immediately.¹⁷

There were more than one thousand men employed in the area. A dozen or so had their families with them. People were coming every day over the new roads. One was over Ebbetts Pass, the other over Carson Pass.¹⁸

In the District Recorder's books, there were over three hundred claims located and recorded by different companies in the Silver Mountain District alone.¹⁹ The sound of blasting echoed between the peaks, as tunnels were pushed into the rock to reach the wealth the miners hoped would be there. But in only a few cases was it there, and of these only one or two might pay. This was due to the difficulties of milling the silver ore, the short working season, and, most of all, the lack of financial backing the mines needed in order to be worked.

In 1864, the county the people had wanted was formed, but it was called Alpine, not Silver as some had wanted. The name describes the county well with its high mountains, green valleys and clear streams. Men were not satisfied with these alone for they came in search of riches, and not finding them, they left in as great a number as they came.

Today visitors to Alpine County come in quest of its high mountains, green valleys and the clear, sparkling trout streams that the miners had left. Josiah Whitney so aptly phrased the county's mining history when he stated, "Hardly anywhere in the country has more persistent efforts been made to work worthless mines than here."²⁰

17 Sacramento Daily Union, Aug. 4, 1863.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 J. D. Whitney, *The Auriferous Gravels of the Sierra Nevada of California*, p. 126.



A Black Pioneer's Trip to California

by PHIL MONTESANO

"Here, you won't trust me with the flour, I won't trust you with the money," retorted Alvin Aaron Coffey to a friend of Dr. William Bassett,¹ his master.² Coffey later remarked that those were "the first saucy words I ever spoke to a white man."³ The same type of defiance characterized the man when faced with adversity on his trip westward to California.

Born July 14, 1822, Coffey began his life as the slave of Margaret Cook of Mason County, Kentucky. He remained her property until 1834 when Henry H. Duval bought him. In 1846, Duval sold him to Dr. Bassett. Seduced by the thought of glittering gold, Dr. Bassett decided to travel to the California gold fields with his slave.⁴

Leaving St. Louis, Missouri on April 2, 1849, the Bassett party headed toward St. Joseph's where a number of wagons were assembling for the trip. On May 5th, the wagon train started for Savanna Landing, the crossing point on the Missouri River. Snapping the reins sharply, Coffey moved the lead wagon forward; Israel and Titus Hale⁵ followed in the second wagon. The diary of Israel Hale and the reminiscences of Coffey provided the vivid accounts of the trip.⁶

Writing in his *Reminiscences*, Coffey described the departure, "There was quite a crowd of neighbors who drove through the mud and rain . . . There were twenty wagons in the number and from three to five men to each wagon."⁷ With the gritting squeak of wooden wheels, the train lurched forward—oxen providing the sure but agonizingly slow locomotive power.

1 Autobiographies and Reminiscences of California Pioneers, Compiled by the Historical Committee of the Society of California Pioneers (San Francisco, 1901), I, 49.

2 Dr. William Bassett (18?-18?) was a plantation owner in Missouri and the leader of the wagon train. Little is known about his life before and after his California trip.

3 Autobiographies and Reminiscences, I, 49.

4 Alvin Aaron Coffey, Archives A to E, Society of California Pioneers; Shurtleff Scrap Book, X, 13.

5 Israel Hale (1804-1891), the father, and Titus Hale (1834-1925), the son, came in the second wagon. Israel wrote the diary, yet Titus became the member of the Society. In fact, Titus served as president of the Society from 1911-13.

6 Autobiographies and Reminiscences, I, 46; Israel F. Hale, *Diary: Missouri to California 1849*, MS, Society of California Pioneers, p. 106.

7 Autobiography and Reminiscences, I, 46.



*Alvin Aaron Coffey,
photo courtesy of the
Society of California
Pioneers.*

The first week of May found the train crossing the Missouri River at Savanna Landing while following the River on its south bank. At the crossing, the wagon train encountered a cholera epidemic. Nathaniel Clark in wagon number six came down with the disease. Dr. Bassett "did all he could for him," but the man died. Dr. Bassett decided that for the safety of the train, he must push forward day and night. Coffey noted that this succeeded, for the train had no other wagons "ahead of us that we knew of."⁸

The train continued its course until it came to present-day Plattsmouth, Nebraska. The train then turned westward to follow the Platte River, the waterway leading into the Rockies.⁹

The group rumbled along the Platte River accompanied by the monotonous sounds of creaking wagons and haunted by the monotonous sights of Nebraska grassland. By June 16th, the party had reached Fort Laramie, Wyoming. Coffey remarked that "the ignorant ox driver broke down a good many oxen" as the trail be-

8 Loc. cit.; Hale, "Diary of Trip to California in 1849," *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*, II (June, 1925), 61.

9 Ray Allen Billington, *The Far Western Frontier (1830-1860)* (New York, 1962), p. 97. The map on that page traces the journey quite well.

came more difficult. With the steepness of the mountains, several trains preceding the Bassett party had "doubled up" leaving "tons of bacon and other provisions strewn along the trail."¹⁰

Travelling from Fort Laramie, the Bassett train continued along the Platte River to its southward bend. The party crossed over to the Sweetwater River there. The difficulty of the journey gradually increased as the group inched toward the Rockies. Each day required more energy, but with only a few miles covered. On July 4th, the train crossed the South Pass. The Hale *Diary* and Coffey's *Reminiscences* noted the thickness of the ice, Coffey remarking that it was "as thick as a dinnerplate."¹¹

From South Pass, the party ventured southeast until it reached Fort Bridger in southwestern Wyoming. Near Evanston, Bassett picked up the Bear River and turned northeast for Fort Hall, Idaho. Reaching it on July 23, 1849, the train turned southward to follow the Snake River into Twin Falls County, Idaho. Hooking into Mary's River in Nevada, the party plodded to the Humboldt River, the waterway through the territory.¹²

Near Winnemucca, Nevada, the group branched off the Humboldt River to the Lassen Trail.¹³ This route cut across the desolate Black Rock Desert toward Goose Lake in Northeastern California. The extreme difficulty and unusual sights provoked the following account:

An ox had given out and was down, not able to get up, about 100 yards from the spring.

Awhile after it got dark . . . the ox commenced bawling pitifully. Some of the boys had gone to bed. I said—"let's go out and kill the ox for it is too bad to hear him bawl." The wolves were eating him up alive. None would go with me, so I got two double-barreled shot guns which were loaded. I went out where he was. The wolves were not in sight, although I could hear them. I put one of the guns about five or six inches from the ox's head and killed him the first shot. The wolves never tackled me. I had reserved three shots in case they should.

Coffey had described the events at Rabbit Hole Springs, but the menacing Black Rock Springs loomed ahead. He continued,

Starting to cross the desert to Black Rock at 4 o'clock in the evening we traveled all night. The next day it was hot and sandy

10 *Autobiographies and Reminiscences*, I, 46-47.

11 *Ibid.*, I, 47; Hale, *Op. cit.*, II, 88.

12 See Billington, *Loc. cit.* for a map of the route.

13 Peter Lassen (1800-1859) opened up his "cut-off" from the Oregon Emigrant Route in 1848. See Owen Cochran Coy, *The Great Trek* (Los Angeles, 1929), p. 193, for a map of the Lassen route which branches off from the Emigrant trail.

A great number of cattle perished before we got to Black Rock. When about 15 miles from Black Rock, a team of oxen was left on the road just where the oxen had died. Everything was left in the wagon. I drove our oxen all the time, and I knew about how much an ox could stand. Between 9 and 10 o'clock a breeze came up and the oxen threw up their heads and seemed to have new life. At noon we drove into Black Rock.

There were lots of springs around there and pretty good grass. We unyoked the oxen and were herding them around on the best grass. The hot springs were pretty plentiful, and some of the branches were cool enough for the oxen to drink. The greatest trouble was to keep them far enough from the springs from falling in. With all of our care, one dropped in with his hind feet. The notice was given and eight or ten men came around in a few minutes. They got him by the horns, ears, jaws and soon pulled him up on the bank. There were a few of us standing behind the ox and as soon as we got him high enough, some of us caught him by the tail. Every hair came out of his tail while we were pulling him up.¹⁴

While the party camped at the Springs, a small group of men performed the following experiment which Coffey recounted,

They tied several picks and ropes together and tied it on a large rock and put it in the spring, but could not even feel the bottom.

[They] put a piece of bacon on the string and let it down this spring, and it would cook as quick as the hottest fire you could make.¹⁵

Coffey's *Reminiscences* contain little information about the trip from Black Rock Springs until the party reached Deer Creek in California. The Hale *Diary* does provide some material about that part of the trip. According to it, the Bassett party left Black Rock Springs for Salt Valley, High Rock Canon, and Warm Springs. By September 4th, the train reached the timber region near Goose Lake in Modoc County, California where it turned southwestward toward Vina, California in Tehama County and Deer Creek. Coffey's narrative then resumed:

When we got to Deer Creek in Sacramento Valley, we divided up the wagons. Some went to Sacramento to get provisions for the winter and came up to Redding Springs later.

Resting only momentarily, the Bassett party moved to Clear Creek. Coffey reported,

. . . the cattle had nothing to eat but poison oak brush. We cut down black oak for them to browse on We watered the oxen out of buckets that night and morning. The next day we gathered them up, drove them down to Clear Creek where they had plenty of poison oak to eat.¹⁶

14 *Autobiographies and Reminiscences*, I, 47-48 & 51; see map in Coy, *Loc. cit.*, for locations of the various springs and Black Rock.

15 *Ibid.*, I, 51-52.

16 *Ibid.*, I, 48.

Within a few days after this last move, Dr. Bassett started his dry-diggings. The waning of October brought the November rain and snow causing the new miners great problems,

We dug and dug till the first of November, at night, it commenced raining, and rained and snowed pretty much all the winter. We had a tent but it barely kept us all dry. There were from eight to twelve in our camp. We cut down pine trees for shakes to make a cabin. It was a whole week before we had a cabin to keep us dry.¹⁷

With the advent of the rainy season, the first part of the Coffey story ended. For Coffey, the California trip left its lasting mark. Along with the problems of a slave in a Free State, the struggle to free himself, his wife and his family, the California trip eventually brought him freedom and success as a prosperous farmer in Tehama County. Equally important, it brought him ever-lasting fame as a Black Pioneer to California; in fact, the only Black Pioneer enrolled as a member of the Society of California Pioneers.¹⁸

17 Loc. cit.

18 See Walter C. Allen, ed., *Society of California Pioneers Centennial Roster*, Commemorative Edition (San Francisco, 1948), 75.



Alvin A. Coffey



Mahala Tindall Coffey
(his wife)

photo courtesy of the Society of California Pioneers.

LOOKS AT WESTERN BOOKS

FOUR BOOKS ABOUT ALASKA

One of the disturbing aspects that can be discovered in reading books about Alaska is the fact that the majority of authors seem so little disposed to expose emotional reactions to this land of enormous contrasts. Describe it they will do. Specify particulars they faithfully do. But no one can approach Alaska from land, sea, or air without experiencing subjective moods of a variety of kinds, and scholarly writers shy away from such expression. To fly into this vast expanse of rugged mountains, over irregular, jagged coastline, and glide down for a landing on a frozen airfield in the middle of January, is to know another world of such rugged grandeur that one is lifted out of oneself while at the same time becoming even more aware of his relative insignificance in the scheme of nature's complicated structure.

It is little wonder that scholars and other experienced writers feel compelled to restrict themselves to isolated areas of inspection, for the scale of things in Alaska is so monumental that anyone begins to limit himself to the possible. Imagine, before Alaska became a state, one could read a list of the highest mountains in the United States, visit, and marvel at the sights. Once Alaska became incorporated into the union, the whole list had to be revised, for in that one area at least nine peaks are taller than the tallest in the "lower 48,"—the phrase used by Alaskans prior to Hawaii's statehood.

Being in the physical presence of a glacier, traveling along the Seward highway and observing the floating miniature icebergs in Cooks inlet; these are exhilarating beyond description. Seeing a full moon over the snow-covered roof of a modern house surrounded by ice-encrusted willows and spruce only serves to remind one that those strange winter scenes in Burchfield watercolors are not stretching the truth at all. Having said all this, we turn to the following four new titles on different Alaskan topics:

ALASKA FOR THE CURIOUS (Alaska Centennial Edition 1867-1967), by Edward L. Keithahn. (Seattle: Superior Publishing Company, 1966) 160 pp., illus., bibliography; \$1.95 (paperback).
Reviewer: RICHARD REYNOLDS, *Professor of Art and Chairman, Dept. of Art, University of the Pacific, Stockton California.*

For the cheechako or the uninitiated, this little book of encyclo-

pedic annotations regarding the "obscure, interesting, and useful" historical facts, figures, and photographs makes a fine guide to the oddities associated with Alaskan lore. The author, a retired (Alaska) State Historical Librarian and Curator, spent forty years in the collection and checking of these various items of information about Alaska.

The book has no plot or thematic structure other than that used in typical encyclopedias. "Abalone" is the first item listed, with "Zuboff, Count" being the last entry. Illustrations abound throughout the book, with most of them being photographs or reproductions of engravings or drawings.

One would not be thoroughly informed about Alaska as the result of knowing about all of the items in this book, though he would be better acquainted with a great many unusual aspects of that state than most of the sourdoughs who have spent their lives within its borders.

ESKIMO MASKS: ART AND CEREMONY, by Dorothy Jean Ray/Photographs by Alfred A. Blaker (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967) 246 pp., description of plates, illus., bl. & wh. and colored, bibliography, index; \$12.50.

From an aesthetic point of view, *Eskimo Masks: Art and Ceremony* is, first of all, a handsome book. The binding, paper, type selected, and general layout of the presentation are all most attractive. In addition, the photographs, in color and in black and white, are those of a competent professional with good taste and sensitivity for the subjects. Particularly effective are the plates in color—set against full-page black backgrounds.

For the fact-loving reader—the scholar, the archaeologist, the historian, or the anthropologist—the collection of masks is well researched in relation to matters regarding original intentions of the makers, methods of construction employed, uses, and archaeological-historical factors. Though principally using the "broadly representative collection" of well-preserved masks in the Lowie Museum at the University of California (Berkeley), the author has produced a "synthesis of over ten years of research in the arts of culture of the Eskimos." Though scholarly in content, the flow of text is magnetic enough to induce the lay reader to pursue the subject from beginning to end. Only the first 96 pages deal with formalized text; thereafter, the balance of the structure consists of illustrations which are numbered and briefly identified. A more full discussion of specific items follows the plate section.

Some of the more fascinating writing refers to "finger masks."

Women wore them to extend or emphasize the flowing movements of the shoulders and arms as well as to incorporate symbolism into the ceremonial dances, when performed. One interesting finger mask represents a star, with the feathers on the mask corresponding to the star's twinkling. In addition to the photographic plates, the final section includes some remarkably fine line drawings of a variety of masks.

If the bibliography is an indication, a great deal of further information is available on this subject and related aspects of Eskimo culture. By contributing *Eskimo Masks: Art and Ceremony*, Dorothy Jean Ray and Alfred A. Blaker have made a significant and beautiful addition to the growing body of scholarly writing about Alaska and its heritage.

ESKIMOS OF THE NUSHAGAK RIVER: An Ethnographic History, by James W. Van Stone, (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1967), 192 pp., maps, bibliography, Index, \$6.95.

This little descriptive anthropological study devoted to one specific geographic area of Alaska is volume 15 of the University of Washington Publications in Anthropology. The author states that his objectives have been: "first, to outline the history of Russian and American exploration of the Nushagak River, its major tributaries, and the adjacent region of Bristol Bay; second, to record the activities of the various agents of change in the Nushagak River region throughout the period of historic contact; third, to reconstruct population groupings, settlement patterns, and the yearly cycle of subsistence activities in the nineteenth century; and fourth, to describe contemporary subsistence activities and the present-day settlement pattern." With such a list of goals, no illustrations whatever, and four maps to help locate particular zones in this heretofore neglected area of Alaska, the author provides a straight-forward research study of somewhat limited interest to the general reader. Historians, anthropologists, and perhaps economists interested in developing Alaska, are most likely to find this treatise absorbing.

The material on the fishing industry, just prior to and following the invention of the canning technique, *should* be revealing to anyone. With the advent of canning, as a replacement for the salting down process previously used in the preserving of salmon, an amazing development took place. By 1903, there were ten canneries operating in Nushagak Bay. In Bristol Bay as a whole, the number of canneries gradually increased until 1920 when twenty-five were in operation. But early in the growth of canning as an industry,



Alaska, detail of water color by Margerie Reynolds.

the major part of the work was done by human labor, with the Eskimos getting little of the employment—for a number of reasons. By 1903, a “remarkable machine” came into existence called the “Iron Chink.” It “beheaded, split, and cleaned the fish. Its name, of course, derives from the fact that it replaced Chinese labor.” But, as Van Stone indicates, from the Eskimo standpoint, canneries played an important part in the conditions of contact and gave “historical depth to the acculturation process.” Few other areas in Alaska have witnessed such intensive face to face interaction with whites.

Some small contributions to the Nushagak economy were made by the gold mining efforts in the region and the introduction of reindeer herds. However, neither activity seems to have made much difference to the Eskimos located in the region, and as a consequence, the chapter concerning these matters is quite brief.

Modern medicine has made a considerable impact on the Eskimo, but let it be said that it was not needed so badly before the introduction of “strange illnesses” from outsiders: European, Asiatic, and American. And even the efforts at education made by missionaries and others created little impact on the vast majority of people in the region.

Historical knowledge regarding the Eskimos of Alaska of necessity dates only from the 19th century, the first outside contacts having been established at that time. As a consequence, ethnographers and others interested in a continuum of earlier cultural patterns are turning more frequently to the methods of archaeology in an effort to establish anything approaching a "baseline" upon which to build the slowly unfolding story of Alaskan Eskimo patterns of life. In the final chapter, "Summary and Conclusions," Van Stone indicates the contemporary factories affecting the present and future outlook for the most primitive and, in many ways, attractive ethnic group of people in our fifty states.

ALASKA AND ITS HISTORY, edited by Morgan B. Sherwood.

Introduction by the editor. (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1967); 475 pp., illus., bibliography, index, \$12.50.

This group of essays by distinguished writers on Alaska is divided into three major units: The Russian Period, The Transition, and The American Period. As the author states in his introduction, "Alaska has been plagued by nonhistories. By nonhistory is meant a book that purports to be all or part history, but was written from two or three secondary accounts—if that—and from no primary sources." In our historical anthology at hand, one of the contributors, for instance, is Ernest Gruening. A writer and scholar as well as a statesman, Gruening used government documents extensively in his political history, *The State of Alaska* (1954), which brought the subject up to date. His contribution to *Alaska and its History* is the final chapter in part III entitled, "Alaska: Progress and Problems." (Mr. Sherwood indicates that one of his reasons for this book "is to introduce both amateurs and nonprofessionals to the monographic literature in article form" regarding Alaska.)

Twenty-five separate articles included in *Alaska and its History* make absorbing reading. While arranged in a chronological order, the unity of the whole is as varied as are the authors who range from a geologist to a radio writer, and from a scholarly historian of unquestioned authority to a museum curator and a librarian. Each has been selected because of his experience and proven veracity regarding the material on the subject. Though not as specifically attuned to a common theme as *Eskimos of the Nushagak River*, *Alaska and its History* is probably far and away the most illuminating of the four books here reviewed—in relation to

the great diversity and unusual nature of background factors bearing on our westernmost outpost.

RICHARD H. REYNOLDS

Chairman of the Art Dept. U.O.P.

THE ANCIENT BRISTLECONE PINE FOREST by Russ and Anne Johnson (Bishop, California: Chalfant Press, Inc., 1966), Maps and Illustrations by Jack Moffett. 42 pp.

The Bristlecone pine is thought by some specialists to be "the oldest of living things". Presently this ancient pine is being studied by scientists seeking knowledge of climatic conditions and plant life of the past. This unique tree is found in California in the White Mountains of Inyo National Forest. A trip to the White Mountains is surely in order after reading this interesting book on the Bristlecone pine.

A CRUIZE IN A QUEENSLAND LABOUR VESSEL TO THE SOUTH SEAS, by W. E. Giles and edited by Deryck Scarr. Pacific Series: no. 1 (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1968) 124 pp., illus., index, \$5.00.

THE WORKS OF TA'UNGA; RECORDS OF A POLYNESIAN TRAVELLER IN THE SOUTH SEAS 1833-1896, by R. G. and Marjorie Crocombe. Pacific Series: no. 2 (Honolulu, Hawaii; University of Hawaii Press, 1968) 164 pp., illus., index, \$6.00.

An effort has been made in the past few decades to uncover more knowledge of indigenous cultures in the central and the western Pacific Basin. Of special interest is the effort of the foreign influence on the native population during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The journal of W. E. Giles is volume one in a series of studies in Pacific history. W. E. Giles, a passenger on the labour recruitment vessel, "Bobtail Nag", leaves an illuminating view of recruiting practices and living conditions in Melanesia during the 1870's. This journal is quite readable, and it includes a listing of all known journals kept by men sailing in the labour trade. It is a rare primary source for those interested in "the Queensland labour trade" as well as a documentary of native life just as foreign influence was making a significant impact in the South Seas.

The Works of Ta'unga is evidence of the cultural changes in the Pacific Islands during the last century. Ta'unga, a native of the Cook Islands, was a member of a party of missionary-educated natives sent from Tahiti to spread the word of Christianity to the

other Islands. His works are the first published writings of a Polynesian about his home. It is an excellent source for the student of Oceanic history. Both books are available only in limited editions, and are a must for collectors.

A THOUSAND ACRES OF NOTHING by J. E. "Aim" Morhardt and Lee Early (Bishop, California: Chalfant Press, Inc., 1968)

These unusual "song poems" by Aim Morhardt and Lee Early give a reality to the eternal struggle of man and nature in the remote, harsh climate of Death Valley. The book is beautifully illustrated by vibrant water color reproductions, and pen and ink sketches by Aim Morhardt. An interesting addition to your collection of western poetry.

THE GHOST TOWN OF BODIE: A CALIFORNIA STATE PARK by Russ and Anne Johnson (Bishop, California: Chalfant Press, Inc., 1967) 117 pp.

Russ and Anne Johnson have truly captured the spirit of challenge and adventure in the now silent mining town of Bodie, California. Existence in Bodie is recreated through the often colorful and entertaining accounts of mining camp editors of the time. I think you will find *The Ghost Town of Bodie* an absorbing chronicle of life cycle of a mining town. Illustrations are from original photographs, and pen and ink sketches by Jack Moffett.

LIVING HISTORICAL FARMS: A WALK INTO THE PAST by John Schlebecker (Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1968), 31 pp., illus.

As America becomes more urbanized, preservation of the more outstanding modes of rural life and of farming becomes important. Mr. Schlebecker proposes the concept of "the living historical farm" as a solution and a means for educating the urbanized societies about their agricultural pasts. This idea of "the historical farm" involves the preservation of the techniques of farming and raising crops and of life on the farm. It is accomplished through actual farms which have been set aside through public funds, and which practice life as it was lived in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in America.

MARILYN WHITTAKER

Research Assistant, Stuart Library of Western Americana

To Whom It May Concern:

Who is the distinguished looking gentleman on the cover of "The Pacific Historian," Fall 1968? Not only is he handsome but the photo-

graph suggests intelligence, integrity and other fine attributes like a "sweet nature." Thank you for including me on your mailing list!

Felix Peano, Sculptor

TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL CALIFORNIA
HISTORY INSTITUTE

University of the Pacific

March 21-22

Theme: 1969 - *A Year of Centennials*

R. COKE WOOD

Carrying on a tradition started by Dr. Rockwell D. Hunt when he came to Pacific and organized the California History Foundation, the 22nd annual California History Institute will be held on March 21-22, sponsored by the Pacific Center for Western Historical Studies. The annual spring meeting of the Board of Directors of California Historical Societies with President Ruth Mahood presiding will also be held in connection with the Institute, in Burns Tower at 10 o'clock a.m. on Friday, March 21.

As the theme will be 1969 - *A Year of Centennials*, the Friday luncheon will be addressed by past president of the Conference Walter Frame on the railroad centennial. Walter is chairman of the coordinating committee set up by the Conference to work out a general coordinated plan for celebrating the completion of the



Firing the Civil War Cannon, Dr. R. Coke Wood, Waddell Smith and Tod Ruse, Jedediah Smith Rendezvous, October, 1968.

First Transcontinental Railroad. He is an authority on the building of the Central Pacific Railroad.

The usual delightful reception will be held at the Haggin Museum Friday afternoon. The newly reorganized California Room will be officially opened at that time.

The annual banquet Friday evening with Dr. Robert Burns presiding will be addressed by Father Arthur Spearman, O.S.J., of Santa Clara University on the bicentennial of the Portola Trek and the founding of the first mission. A special musical treat is in store for you when Mrs. Earl Purdy of Dodge Ridge presents "History in Music" — a delightful medley that goes back to the Gold Rush.

The Jedediah Smith breakfast on Saturday morning will feature the Director of Parks and Recreation, Mr. William Penn Mott, who will talk on the new National Redwoods Park.

Saturday a.m. will feature a speaker on railroads and the plans for the bicentennial, and the Institute will be closed with the Saturday luncheon addressed by Mr. Henry Taketa of Sacramento. He is an authority on the first Japanese migration to California in June, 1869, and will tell the delightful story of the Wakamatsu Tea & Silk Colony that was established near Placerville in 1869. A special exhibit of items dealing with this centennial will be arranged by Mrs. Fern Sayre, who recently visited the Wakamatsu shrine in Japan, and by Mrs. Henry Taketa.

HISTORY CALENDAR

MARCH 21 AND 22, 1969

*California History Institute
Year of Centennials
Stockton, California*

MARCH 29—APRIL 5

*Mission Tour
led by Dr. R. Coke Wood*

JUNE 19-21, 1969

*Bicentennial Annual Meeting
Conference of California Historical Societies,
Stardust Hotel, Mission Valley,
San Diego County, California*

Letter From A Reader



The Japanese-American children in this 7th grade class, French Camp School, California, were relocated at Tule Lake, Arizona.

JIMMIE, WHO WAS SENT TO A JAPANESE RELOCATION CENTER

I was busy in the kitchen making candied grapefruit rind for the girls in the office when the door bell interrupted my cooking. What a pleasant interruption it turned out to be! When I answered the door I was greeted by a Japanese-American man who smiled and said, "You don't remember me—but—I'm Jimmie, one of your former pupils." In a moment I knew him. How delighted I was to see him again! and how he had changed from a small bewildered boy to this self-assured man.

I invited him in, and he told me of some of his plans for his future and also related some of his past experiences while living in a Relocation Camp in Arizona during World War II. Then, all too soon, he left for his job and his home in Los Angeles.

That night, as I lay in bed, I could not sleep. I relived the emotional strain of World War II times

when Jimmie had been in my class and Pearl Harbor had been attacked by the Japanese.

Our school was located in a delta farming area where sixty percent of the pupils were of Japanese decent. When World War II was declared, all Japanese were interned in Relocation Camps in California and other states. 20,000 were housed at Tule Lake in Modoc County, California. Some of the families from San Francisco were housed temporarily in the large Tan Foran Race Track south of San Francisco. The families from our area were sent at first to the Fair Grounds on Charter Way in Stockton.

They were housed in army type barracks. They left behind them their homes, their farms, their animals, their cars and trucks, their toys and their friends and neighbors.

As in all wars, children pay a high price of suffering. The most difficult experience of my pupils seemed to be the realization that they had to leave their pets behind when they were sent to the Relocation Camps.

Every morning at school we all assembled outdoors on the playground and I led the school in a flag salute and a few songs. Usually, the songs were of a patriotic nature: *America, Star Spangled Banner* and *Glory Glory Halleluja*. The favorite songs were *America the Beautiful* and *God Bless America*. Simple rounds were also enjoyed. The popular ones were *Row, Row, Row Your Boat* and *Frere Jacques*.

As soon as the teachers learned our pupils were to be evacuated, we decided to do our best to try to find homes for the children's pets.

Every morning, at the out door sing, we held a sort of auction with no money exchanged but much love and sympathy. The Japanese-American pupils were invited to bring their pets to school. Each morning they would take turns standing on the outdoor platform and holding up the pet for all to see. The pupil would give his pet's name, age and good qualities. Soon a hand would be raised and a voice would call out, "I'll mind your kitty until you return," or "We have room for your bird in our kitchen."

One day, one of my pupils, Jimmie, lingered at my desk after school. In his quiet, gentle manner, he said softly, "I don't want to bring my dog to school, no one will want him. He is old and blind." I was choked with my emotions, but I managed to put my arm around Jimmie and say "We all want your dog and he'll get good care until you come back to us." The next day I found a farmer who was willing to add the dog to some other animals in his large barn.

Much too soon, our pupils left for their new temporary homes. I tried to reassure my pupils that before too long they'd be back with us again. While they were at the County Fair

Grounds we teachers visited them regularly and brought them school books and assignments and a few "goodies" for treats. We often shopped for the parents. I always looked for Jimmie and reassured him that his dog was well cared for and happy in that big old barn that was now his dog's home.

After some months, these Japanese-American families were moved to more permanent quarters in California and in other states. I didn't see any of my pupils again until World War II was over, but the children wrote me many letters. Most of my pupils were housed in camps in Arizona.

In the many months to come I often remembered my Japanese pupils who were in other states. I missed their quiet manners and industrious habits. Our classes now were small in size.

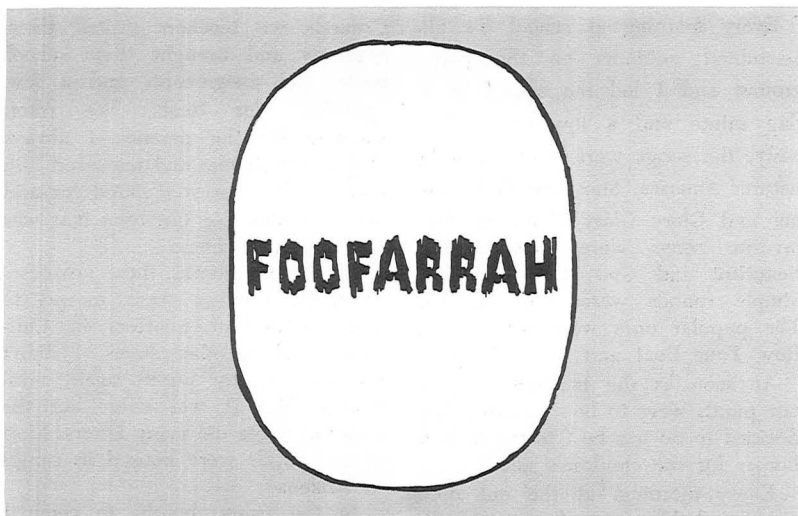
We practiced evacuation drills and were instructed about the best routes for cars to take us out of the city in case we were threatened with a bomb. The radio had practice-alert signals at regular intervals.

This was a time of emotional stress for all. There was hard feeling against anyone who was of Japanese ancestry. I had great concern for my older son who was fighting the Japanese in the South Pacific as an Infantry Soldier.

But through it all, I never lost my love for my small Japanese-American pupils and God took care of my own brave son, who came home to me safely after the war.

To-day I was happy that Jimmie, too, had returned and he had remembered my concern for his old, blind dog that he left behind when he was evacuated from California to Arizona and a Relocation Camp for the War's duration.

Mrs. Claire D. Sprague



Although we wished to simplify the cover of THE PACIFIC HISTORIAN, we did not wish to lose the oval which was dear to the heart of our former Editor, Leland D. Case, so we have decided that it would become the trademark of FOOFARRAH. As you recall, Piet Hein, the Danish genius, invented the oval to solve a traffic problem. It was described as "as curve with the same equation as an ellipse but with a exponent of $2\frac{1}{2}$."

Comments about THE PACIFIC HISTORIAN vary, but the enthusiasm for Mrs. Sprague's article is ever the same, "Let us have more!" The Audubon story has stirred wide interest locally, and Miss Theodosia Benjamin is finding new and vital facts all the time. The great thing about History — it's never static.

Dr. "Pat" Engle has given a Wells Fargo strong box to the J.A.B. Fry Library. It was on display at the Stuart Library of Western Americana for many weeks. Students were amazed by the great weight of the box.

February 3, 1968, was the birthdate of our beloved Rockwell D. Hunt. Work in Western Americana is a monument to his memory. Once he wrote about his friend, Leon Loofbourow, "He was born in Atlantic, Iowa, but he has been a loyal Californian most of his mature life." Those of us fortunate enough to receive a copy of Dr. Loofbourow's Christmas card on the redwoods will feel that he is, indeed, a loyal Californian.

Our next issue will be on Spanish American culture with Dr. Larry Pippin as guest consultant. We shall present highlights of the recent meeting at Covell College and the issue should be highly prized by collectors in this area.

THE FAR WESTERNER for October, 1968, carried another interesting story on Alpine County by Mike Marleau. If you haven't read it, try to get a copy. Mike's research will undoubtedly be a book some day. He is a relentless researcher.



Model of City of Markleeville, Alpine County, California.

Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln Covington and Mr. and Mrs. Roy Leighton Malone built the prize-winning model of the city of Markleeville at the Tri-County Fair last July. The model, which was constructed of papier mache, measured 6x8 feet and featured replicas to scale on the structures in Markleeville, is now housed in the museum at Woodfords. Mr. Covington is the President of the Alpine County Historical Society and Mr. Malone teaches in the Gold Hill School at Coloma.

Did you know that Hugh E. Hayes, author of our now famous Captain Moss story, is a collector? We knew that he was an ardent student of Western Americana, but when we were fortunate enough to see his collection, we knew that his interest was forever. Mrs. Glenn Belche of Peoria, Illinois wrote: "A columnist in THE PEORIA-JOURNAL STAR, Peoria, Illinois, felt that the Captain Moss issue should have been called THE PEORIA ISSUE. Illinois readers were most interested.

While living in Stockton, Dr. and Mrs. Leland Case absorbed enough of Dorothy and Hugh Tye's enthusiasm for astronomy to conjure up visions of sky study following their return to Tucson's clear nights. They took back with them blueprints for a rooftop observatory. It was soon completed. They had neglected, however, to plan a satisfactory means of access. But since inspiration abounds in the desert's unsullied atmosphere, the problem was soon solved: an outside spiral staircase. Not only would it take them nearer the star-studded heavens with ease, it would be a picturesque addition to their home.

Each time Dr. Case returned to Stockton he reported on the progress of the spiral staircase. Finally he was able to announce its completion. But a challenge still faced them. The amateur astronomical observatory demanded a suitable name. Not long ago, during a moment of happy elation, they officially named it "The Sky-Tye."



In 1930, Dr. Ki Kimura came from Japan and talked to Mr. Henry Veerkamp at his ranch at Gold Hill, California. Mr. Veerkamp was then 82 years old. He told Dr. Kimura that "Okei-San was a nice girl and when she wore her Japanese kimono she was really beautiful." This photo, taken of Mr. Veerkamp about this time, is part of the Okei collection of Mr. Henry Taketa.

